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**THE LAND OF THE FREE AND THE HOME OF '
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ISSUES OF THE DAY

BEING A TEXT-BOOK ON

THE POLITICAL SITUATION PAST AND PRESENT

**Our Country—Its People—Its Government—Its Greatness—
The Rise and Fall of Political Parties—The Tariff,
Silver, Financial and Other Issues Fully Explained**

A COMPLETE DICTIONARY OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT

FIFTH EDITION

REVISED AND ENLARGED

PUBLISHED BY

**CONRAD H. OLIVER
CHICAGO, ILL.**

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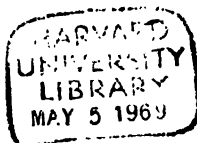
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PREFACE.

THE United States is the grandest nation of the globe and the nineteenth century the crowning era of all progress in civilization made by the human race. To perpetuate the liberties we enjoy, to keep step with the age of progress in its onward march, to thwart the dangers threatening our peace, prosperity, and safety is the earnest endeavor of every true American citizen. Our safety lies in an intelligent comprehension of facts and in our ability to control the forces that shape our weal or woe.

The average American has neither time nor disposition to plod through volumes that elaborately set forth the facts of history, science, and civil government. In our age of intense activity we need truths briefly stated in clear, distinct, and definite terms, so as to be comprehended at once by the masses.

Safe Citizenship is a book for the busy man, alike for the professional man, the literary man, and the practical man of the shop, the counter, and the plow. In it are grouped and clearly defined the essentials of ideal and practical citizenship. Here is found, that which concerns **The Citizen**, followed by **Our Country and Its People**. **Inventors and Inventions** show the progress of the century.

Our Government, its system and departments, together with the principles and methods of **Voting**, **The Ballot and Ballot Reform** and a history of **Political Parties and Nominating Conventions**, are set forth in distinct and graphic terms. The principal events and important occurrences of each of the **Administrations** are stated in well chosen language. A prominent feature of the work is the discussion of **Current Topics and Problems** followed by **Issues of the Day**, embracing all the vital questions that agitate the public mind.

International and Foreign Affairs are not overlooked, while **The Campaign of 1896**, its candidates, comparison of platforms of parties and political affairs in general are fully discussed.

With the hope that thousands may be led to comprehend the sway that the citizen has over the destinies of America and that other thousands may be inspired to noble and heroic efforts in the perpetuation and further development of the ideally great and grand Republic of the earth, this volume is sent forth.

PUBLISHERS.



"Man is born a citizen."—Aristotle.

**"Education is a better safeguard than a standing army."
—Edward Everett.**

**"He serves his party best who serves his country best."
—Rutherford B. Hayes.**

**"Our greatest danger in this country is coöperative
wealth."—Wendell Phillips.**

**"Liberty can be safe only when suffrage is illuminated
by education."—James A. Garfield.**

**"My concern is not whether God is on our side; my
great concern is to be on God's side, for God is always
right."—Abraham Lincoln.**



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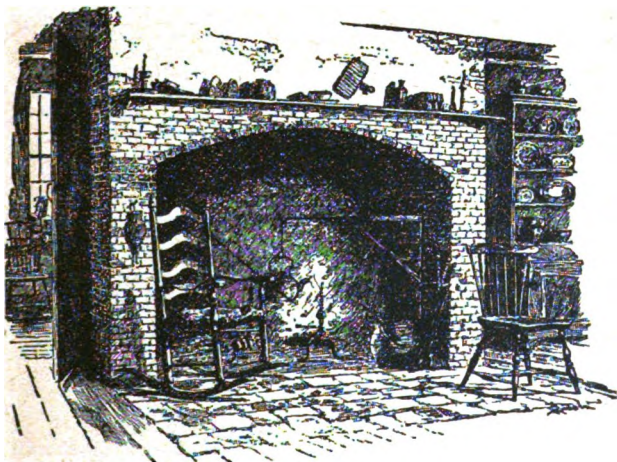
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CHAPTER I.

THE CITIZEN.



General Washington's Fire Place.

Advantages and Responsibilities of an American Citizen.

1. **Advantages.**—Our age is indeed a golden age. We are favored as no other people. Our advantages greatly surpass those of the citizen of any other nation of the world. This is clearly seen in our natural facilities, our delight in scientific research, the increased intelligence and quickening of the public mind, the diffusion and popularizing of knowledge through the press, as well as the demand for even a greater dissemination of knowledge among all classes.

2. **Responsibilities.**—These advantages bring with them corresponding responsibilities. Bound to allegiance on the one hand and entitled to protection on the other, the American citizen is of necessity compelled to inform himself on the principles of government, the progress and development of

the nation, including the living issues of the day. Our nation is what we as citizens make it. The citizen can make its future as the full blown flower of which the present is but the opening bud, or by a selfish neglect of duties he may permit imminent and threatening dangers to thwart the growth, if not to overthrow the nation whose possibilities were never equaled. Safe citizenship demands a careful study of our country and its people, our government and all the questions of vital interest constantly pressing to the front. He who will not inform himself upon the living issues of the day and interest himself in these subjects so essential to national life, does not deserve the name of citizen, and by his very ignorance and selfishness becomes in fact, if not in intention, an enemy of his own nation. We rightfully boast of the grandeur of our nation, of the achievements of the past, of a promising future, but we cannot make too emphatic the fact that great as are the advantages and possibilities, the dangers are correspondingly great, and awful will be the calamity if the citizen fails to realize his responsibility as a member of the body politic.

"England expects every man to do his duty," said Nelson on the eve of a great battle. Our nation can expect nothing less of every individual citizen in the coming conflict with ignorance and vice. Given these conditions in which the citizen realizes his responsibilities and our future is no longer in the scale of doubt.

Duties of an American Citizen.

1. **Political Rights.**—Every American or foreign-born citizen of the United States has certain political privileges and inalienable rights. In order to sustain a good government every man should exercise his political rights to the best of his knowledge. As every citizen is protected by the government he should not shrink from his duty in giving to the state certain protection whenever he may be called upon to do so. We need better citizenship, more education, and a better knowledge of our system of government. Every man should be able to vote intelligently.

2. **Your Duty.**—It is your duty as an American citizen to obey the laws, even if they are, in your belief, unjust or unwise. General Grant once shrewdly said that the best way to procure the repeal of an unjust or unwise law was to rigorously enforce it. It is your right to expose the folly or injustice of a law, to demand its repeal, and to try to get a majority to repeal it. But while it remains a law, you are to obey it.

3. Voting at the Polls.—It is the duty of every American citizen to exercise his right to vote at all the primaries and all the elections to which he is eligible. The American people are too indifferent in nominating and supporting men for office. To put up a ticket is too frequently left to a lot of "bummer" politicians, and the masses vote the ticket because it is gotten up by the "bummers" of their party. When selfish and unprincipled politicians control the election, incompetent and unworthy men are put up and elected to office. Indifference on the part of the people is the curse of American politics. Every citizen should go to the caucuses or primaries and insist upon the nomination of good men, and if incompetent or unworthy men are nominated refuse to support them. Every good citizen should support the best man for the office, regardless of politics, when it becomes a question of fitness, and refuse to vote for a man whom he knows to be unworthy and unqualified to fill the office for which he has been nominated. It is a dangerous thing to vote for a man simply because he has been nominated by a certain party. Let merit and ability be the claim for office.

4. Prompt Execution of the Laws.—It is your duty to insist upon the prompt execution of the laws; to be ready, even at much personal inconvenience, to aid in their enforcement, if you are called upon by proper officers; and to resent with indignation every sign of lawlessness and violence, and require its vigorous suppression. For instance, if a riot should break out in a city where you are living, you are not to go out of town until it subsides, but you are to hasten to offer your support to the authorities, and to require their prompt and decisive action to restore order.

5. Grand or Petit.—It is your duty—if you are a voter—to serve, when called on, as a grand or petit juror; and this at even great inconvenience.

6. Act Generally with Some Political Party.—It is your duty to act generally with some political party and to exert your influence upon its leaders to induce the nomination of capable and honest men for office. And it is your duty, if your party nominates a bad man, to vote against him and thus keep the public and general good before your eyes, and set an example of true public spirit before your fellows.

7. Watch the Conduct of Public Officers.—It is your duty to watch the conduct of public officers, to see that they perform their duties and observe their constitutional limitations; and if they do not, then it is your duty to help to

expose them and at the election to punish them. For it is only by such vigilance that a nation can preserve its liberties unimpaired. These are your political duties, which you cannot neglect or abjure without disgrace to yourself and harm to the country.

8. Party Government.—As party government is inevitable and necessary in a free country, it is the duty of every citizen to attend the primary meetings of the party with which he acts. If honest and intelligent men neglect the primaries, they thereby hand the control of their party over to bad men. It is important to the welfare of the country that all the political parties shall be controlled by wise and honest men; for a corrupt or debased minority can offer but a feeble opposition to the majority, and in reality helps to strengthen and to animate the majority; whereas a powerful, honest and intelligent minority compels the majority to govern carefully and honestly. The demoralization of the party which is in the minority may thus, as you see, bring calamities on a country.

Political Training for the Citizen.

1. Duty of Citizens.—Since any male citizen of suitable age may become a legislator or an officeholder, while every citizen has an appreciable influence upon the political life of his neighborhood, it is evident that every citizen of the United States ought to have some intelligent comprehension not only of the essential features of our own government, national, state and local or municipal, but also of the fundamental principles of political rights, political economy and political science.

2. Citizens from Two Sources.—We get our supply of new citizens from two sources—immigration and the growing up of American children. We are all keenly alive to the dangers that threaten our government when ignorant and immoral foreigners are made citizens by hundreds and thousands. Our United States laws are explicit in requiring evidence of fitness for citizenship before naturalization papers are granted. "It shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the court admitting such alien, (a) that he has resided in the United States at least five years, (b) and that during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character, (c) attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States, (d) and well disposed to the peace and good order of the same." That is the law.

3. Making Citizens of Foreigners.—How safe we should be from the pernicious effect of much ignorance and vicious anarchism which now trouble us if committees of good citizens had attended at our courts of naturalization and had forced home upon the consciousness of all officers of the



CHARLES SUMNER,
America's Ablest Statesman.

law who have power to grant naturalization papers, the will of the people, that this wise law be obeyed! But in practice these provisions of the law are a dead letter, as any one knows who has sat for a few hours in any of our large cities and has seen the purely mechanical method of making American citizens out of foreigners—ignorant, reckless, too

often manifestly immoral and besotted. The process is "mechanical," because it is usually conducted in the interest of one or the other of the party "machines." By its agents the machine brings these undeserving candidates to the court and pays their way through, that it may "vote them" afterward. The shame and the danger to our government are manifest.

4. Obligations of State and School.—But the great majority of our citizens come to us not from the immigrant steamships, but from the public schools! What are our schools doing to provide the United States with citizens intelligent enough upon matters political and patriotic enough to secure the permanent success of our form of government "by the people, for the people?"

5. Obligation of the State.—The obligation of the state to maintain the school we hear often enough emphasized. Is the obligation of the school to support the state by using all right means to train good citizens as frankly recognized and as fairly met? In our school system, is there a large enough place made for those studies which promote intelligent patriotism, voluntary obedience to law, and public-spirited interest in public affairs?

6. Germany's Admirable Plan.—In Germany it became a fundamental maxim of state policy a century ago "what you would have come out in the life of a nation you must put into the schools and the universities." The wonderful vigor of the national life of Germany in these last decades is directly traceable to her observance of this law of self-preservation applied by the state to Germany's educational system, in which patriotism is steadily and systematically inculcated, and in the fitting of young men for the proper discharge of public duties has an important place.

7. Patriotism the Strength of a Nation.—Of our forms of government, as of everything else that is precious in life, it is true that "if we would preserve it we must love it." And intelligent study of the underlying principles of government will stimulate a just pride in our own form of government and will furnish a rational basis and a sure support for that loyal spirit of true patriotism which is the strength of a nation.

8. The Principles of Good Citizenship.—All colleges which deserve the name now furnish full instruction in such themes. But important as is the influence of liberally educated men upon the life of America, it is but a small percentage of our voters who in their school studies reach the college course, or even the high school. It is most important that all citizens, girls and boys alike, in all our

schools should have elementary instruction in the principles of good citizenship. It is the mothers of our boys and the early school life of our boys that largely determine the life-bias toward good citizenship or bad citizenship for the great mass of our voters.

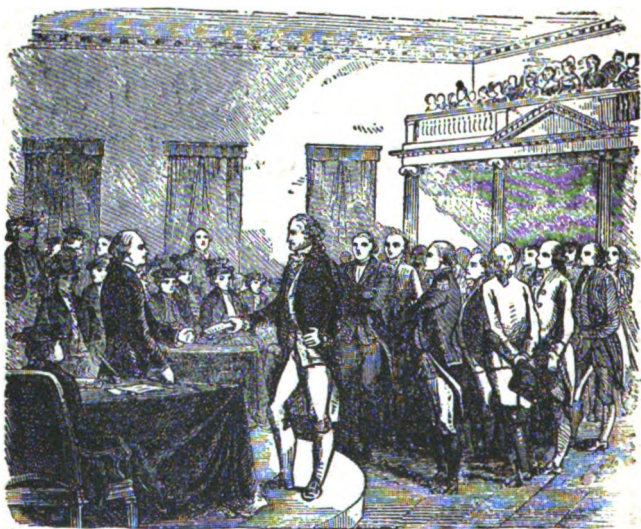
9. **Value of Good Mothers.**—An intelligent, public-spirited mother is almost by necessity the mother of patriotic sons and daughters. Given good mothers in this respect and good sons follow. To the ambitious mother who asked the witty English divine "how she could make sure that her son should one day become a bishop," he replied, "first get him born right." This goes to the root of the matter. And the next step, that we may have as many boys as possible early trained in the principles and the spirit of good citizenship, is to see that mothers, sisters and teachers are intelligently awake to the responsibility of residence among a self-governing people. The girls and the women of our country should be (as we believe many of them are) intelligent patriots, with clear knowledge and sound convictions upon matters of public interest in the state.

10. **School Life of the Boy.**—In his school life the conditions are so essentially different from those of his home life that the boy virtually begins his social life when he enters school. At home in the family love self-denial was the law. In the school, as in the state, consideration of justice, of equity, of impartiality, must have the first place. "What relations with others, my equals, are possible for me?" is the question the schoolboy is practically answering, day by day, whether or not he puts it into words. The way he carries himself among his schoolmates, the standards of honor and of behavior which he accepts and helps to form, will go with him through life. The school by its tone and spirit, as well as by its studies, determines in no slight degree the nature of those relations with his fellows—relations just and harmonious, or selfish and discordant—which are to make or mar his life as man and citizen.

11. **Responsibility of the Teacher.**—Teachers with whom rests the responsibility of fixing these standards in school life, will not train their pupils intelligently for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship unless they have themselves given time and attention and loving thought to the principles of sound government and to the demands which popular government, if it succeeds, must constantly make upon the citizen for moral thoughtfulness, self-control and public spirit. The study of the history of our country, with emphasis upon shining examples of patriotism and disinterested goodness; patriotic songs in the school-

room; patriotic selections for reading and declamation, these help to form the true spirit and tone in the school. But more than this is needed.

12. Begin to Teach the Citizen Early.—There should be in all our schools (and in a "grade" not so far advanced that most children leave school before they reach it) simple, clear, convincing teaching of the elementary principles of government; of the purpose and design of law and government; of the ultimate foundation of all government upon



Washington Resigning His Commission.

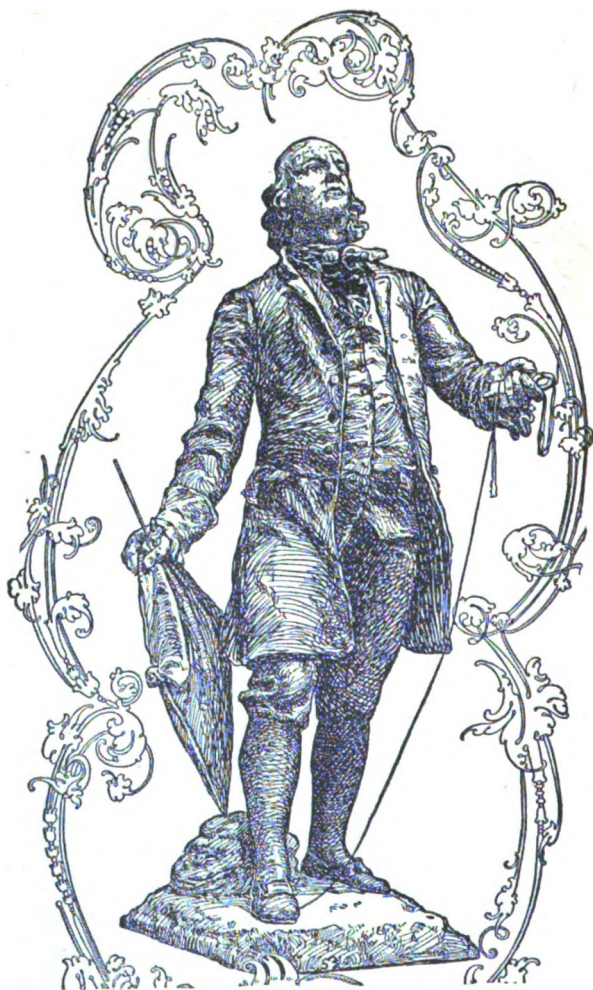
justice, equity, righteousness, upon the moral law, and of the supreme authority of that law over majorities as well as minorities, however "free" the form of government may be. Every young citizen should early be taught that a majority has a right to do what it pleases only when it pleases to do what is right. Even in his early school days every future citizen should learn to feel the solemn responsibility which rests upon every citizen of a free state to govern himself thoughtfully, voluntarily and strictly.

13. Duty of Americans.—But whatever may be done or left undone by our schools, let Americans see to it that in the great system of public schools which is so closely connected with our national life there be early introduced, steadily pursued and strongly emphasized, such studies as tend directly to make moral, intelligent, loyal citizens, who understand and love not only their rights but also their duties as citizens of the United States. Our highest interests depend upon this. Then only can government by the people be carried on with safety to the people. If as is universally conceded, "*Salus populi lex suprema*,"—"The welfare of the people is the highest law"—then it is wisdom to direct the peaceful policy of national education so as to hold sacred this maxim in moments of crises and manifest danger to the state.

The Young Statesman's Opportunities.

1. Political Advantages.—What our country at the present time most needs is more thoroughly honest, competent and educated young men. Our legislatures are made up of men entirely unfit to make laws for the state. Our congressmen seem to lose sight of the principles of patriotism and statesmanship, in their partisan struggle for supremacy and power. In every department of government, both legislative and executive, there is not only room, but a serious need for a higher ideal of statesmanship. Every young man should fit himself not only to become a good citizen who can vote intelligently, but he should prepare himself to assume the responsibilities of office. It is uncertain when he may be called upon to serve the people in some higher capacity than private citizenship. This country is rich in both political and financial opportunities. Every young man should become familiar with its past history as well as with the political questions of the day.

2. America is Another Name for Opportunity.—Its whole history appears like a last effort of the Divine Providence on behalf of the human race. To have the age, in which so much has been done, brought to the intellectual conception of mankind as "new and exceptional," was a fine literary effort. But, above all these things to have it once and forever realized, not only by the people here



**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, SCIENTIST, STATES-
MAN, AND PHILOSOPHER.**

themselves, but by the world, that "America was another name for Opportunity," imparted a comprehensive sweep and scope to the idea of how mankind might be benefited by this gift, in this age. It was a message specially designed, not only to stimulate the people of the continent itself, but to notify and guide the rest of the world to an appreciation of the chances of success that awaited them here.

The Young Man's First Vote.

1. **More than One Million Young Men** will have their first opportunity next presidential election to cast a vote for a president of the United States. For all those of this vast army of our citizens of the future who participate in the coming election it will be their first entrance into national politics. And that first vote weighs many times as much as any one that will follow it. Of itself it counts no more in the ballot-box than any other vote, but it determines largely the character of those that will come after it.

2. **Man's Conduct.**—Man's conduct is regulated by a great variety of circumstances. In politics, once his choice of a party has been made, his associations, his pride of opinion, his sentiment of loyalty, all combine and are helped by other considerations to deter him from changing his party relations.

3. **Your Political Future.**—Men do break away from their early political associations, but they are exceptions. Consequently, the first vote will probably determine your political future. See that you make the right choice and ally yourself with the party whose history, achievements, and aims attract you to it.

4. **Party Changes.**—Most young men vote as their fathers do. They are Republicans, Democrats, Populists, or Prohibitionists because their fathers are, and the chances are that they will always vote that ticket. It is unfortunate that so little independent thinking is done. The few furnish the brains and the argument for the masses, and, consequently, the country is cursed with bad politics and badly enforced laws.

5. **The Right Principles.**—Young man, think for yourself and vote your convictions. Look over the field and vote for the best men. When you see an incompetent or unworthy man on your ticket, don't vote for him. Remember that no party can rise above the moral character of the men that represent its principles. Vote for good men regardless of party, and you will do your duty as a good citizen. Bad men must be kept out of office. If your party puts up an unprincipled man, rebuke the party by refusing to vote for him.



**OUR FOREIGN FRIEND FURNISHING MUSIC
FOR THE PUBLIC.**

Citizenship.

A citizen is a person born or naturalized in the United States. Men, women and children are citizens. A citizen of the United States residing in any state of the Union is a citizen of that state. Naturalization conferring citizenship is a federal right, and is a gift of the Union, not of any one state. Citizenship does not carry with it the right to vote. All male citizens twenty-one years of age are voters, but all

voters are not citizens. (See table of qualifications for voters on another page.)

Naturalization Laws of the United States.

The conditions under and the manner in which an alien may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States are prescribed by the Revised Statutes of the United States.

DECLARATION OF INTENTIONS.

The alien must declare upon oath before a circuit or district court of the United States or a district or supreme court of the territories, or a court of record of any of the states having common law jurisdiction and a seal and clerk, two years at least prior to his admission, that it is, *bona fide*, his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince or state, and particularly to the one of which he may be at the time a citizen or subject.

OATH ON APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION.

He must at the time of his application to be admitted declare on oath, before some one of the courts above specified, "that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, and particularly, by name, to the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or subject," which proceedings must be recorded by the clerk of the court.

CONDITIONS FOR CITIZENSHIP.

If it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court to which the alien has applied that he has made a declaration to become a citizen two years before applying for final papers, and has resided continuously within the United States for at least five years, and within the state or territory where such court is at the time held one year at least; and that during that time "he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same," he will be admitted to citizenship.

TITLES OF NOBILITY.

If the applicant has borne any hereditary title or order of nobility, he must make an express renunciation of the same at the time of his application.

SOLDIERS.

Any alien of the age of twenty-one years and upward who has been in the armies of the United States, and has been honorably discharged therefrom, may become a citizen on his petition, without any previous declaration of intention, provided that he has resided in the United States at least one year previous to his application, and is of good moral character. (It is judicially decided that residence of one year in a particular state is not requisite.)

MINORS.

Any alien under the age of twenty-one years who has resided in the United States three years next preceding his arriving at that age, and who has continued to reside therein to the time he may make application to be admitted a citizen thereof, may, after he arrives at the age of twenty-one years, and after he has resided five years within the United States, including the three years of his minority, be admitted a citizen; but he must make a declaration on oath and prove to the satisfaction of the court that for two years next preceding it has been his *bona fide* intention to become a citizen.

CHILDREN OF NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

The children of persons who have been duly naturalized, being under the age of twenty-one years at the time of naturalization of their parents, shall, if dwelling in the United States, be considered as citizens thereof.

CITIZENS' CHILDREN WHO ARE BORN ABROAD.

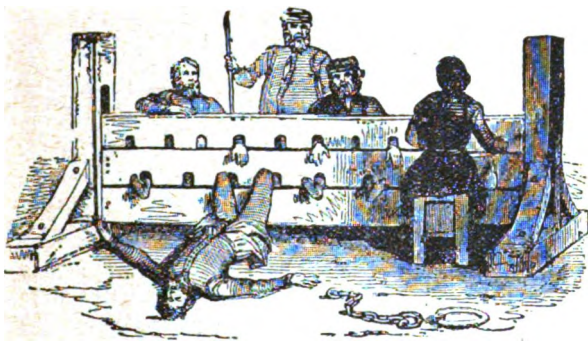
The children of persons who now are or have been citizens of the United States are, though born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, considered as citizens thereof.

CHINESE.

The naturalization of Chinamen is expressly prohibited by Section 14, Chapter 126, Laws of 1882. (See note on a succeeding page).

PROTECTION ABROAD TO NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

Section 2,000 of the Revised Statutes of the United States declares that "all naturalized citizens of the United States while in foreign countries are entitled to and shall receive from this government the same protection of persons and property which is accorded to native-born citizens."



Public Punishment in Olden Times.

The Rights of an American Citizen.

1. Republican Principles.—Under this head the Bill of Rights declares:

That all power is inherent in the people;

That governments exist for their good, and by their consent;

That all freemen are equal;

That no title or nobility shall be conferred;

That exclusive privileges shall not be granted except in consideration of public services;

That all elections shall be free and equal.

2. Personal Security.—In the interest of the personal security of the citizen, it is provided:

That the people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and possessions, from unreasonable seizures and searches.

That warrants to seize and to search persons and things must describe them by oath or affirmation;

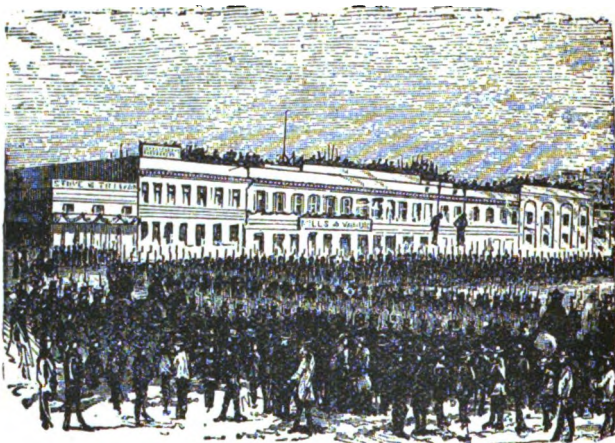
That there shall be no imprisonment for debts, except in case of fraud.

3. Private Property.—To secure the rights of private property, the bill declares:

That private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation;

And in some states that long leases of agricultural lands shall not be made.

4. Freedom of Conscience.—To induce the entire freedom of conscience of the citizen, it is declared:



LYNCH LAW.

Breaking Open the Jail and Publicly Executing Two Criminals.

That there shall be perfect religious freedom, but not covering immoral practices;

That there shall be no state church;

That no religious test shall be required for performing any public function;

That the rights of conscience are free from human control.

5. **Freedom of Speech and of the Press.**—To maintain the rightful freedom of the press, the bill guarantees:

That printing presses may be used by all;

That every citizen may freely speak, write, and print upon any subject, being responsible for the abuse of the right.

6. **Freedom of Assembly.**—The right of assembly is secured by the provision:

That the people may peaceably assemble for the public good, to discuss questions of public interest; and

That they may petition the government for redress of grievances.

7. **Rights of the Accused.**—Among the worst abuses of tyranny in all ages have been the corruption of the courts and the denial of the rights of common justice. To guard against these it is expressly provided:

That the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended except when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it;

That, except in capital cases, persons charged with crime may give bail;

That no excessive bail shall be required;

That all courts shall be open;

That the accused shall have a speedy trial in the district in which the offense was committed;

That the ancient mode of trial by jury shall be maintained; but civil suits, by consent of the parties may be tried without a jury;

That all persons injured in lands, goods, person or reputation shall have remedy by course of law;

That the accused shall be informed of the nature of the charges against him;

That he shall be confronted by the witnesses against him;

That he shall be heard in his own defense, and may have the benefit of counsel;

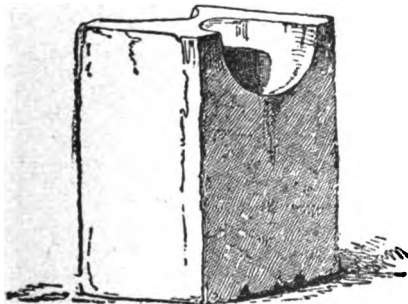
That he shall not be required to testify against himself;

That he shall not be deprived of life, liberty or property except by due process of law;

That no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted;

That no one shall be twice placed in jeopardy for the same offense.

8. Rights.—All citizens, says Peterman in his civil government, have a right to the full and equal protection of the laws. Each has a right to be secure in his person



THE BEHEADING BLOCK.

and property; to demand that the peace be preserved; to do all things according to his own will, provided he does not trespass upon the rights of others. No one in the family, in the school, in the civil district, in the country, in the state, or in the nation has the right to do or say anything which

interferes with the life, liberty, property or happiness of another. Any act which interferes with the rights of others

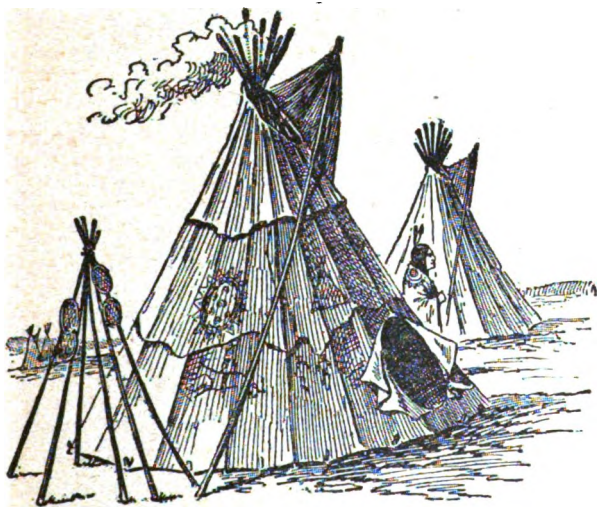
is an offense against the common good and against the law. It is chiefly for the prevention and punishment of these unlawful acts that the civil district exists, with its court and its officers.

9. Legal Voters.—All legal voters of the district have the right to participate in its government by exercising a free choice in the selection of its officers, except in states where these officers are appointed. They have the right to cast their votes without fear or favor. This is one of the most important and sacred rights that freemen possess. Free government cannot exist without it. The law guarantees it, and all the power of the state may be employed to maintain it. Therefore, whoever prevents a voter from exercising the rights of suffrage does it at his own peril.

10. Duties.—As the citizens of the civil district have rights, they also have corresponding duties. As they may demand protection and the preservation of the peace, so it is their duty to obey the law and assist the officers in its enforcement, in order that the same protection may be extended to the whole people. Each should abstain from acts that injure others, and render cheerful aid to all in securing their rights through the law.

11. Qualified Voters.—All qualified voters have the right, and it is also their duty, to vote. The voters elect the officers of the district, and are therefore its rulers. When they fail to vote, they fail to rule, fail to do their duty to the people and to themselves. The duty to vote implies the duty to vote right, to vote for good men and for good measures. Therefore, men should study their duty as voters that they may elect honest, capable, faithful officers, and support the parties and principles that will best promote the good of the country. Every man should study his political duty with the best light that he can obtain, decide what is right, and then vote his sentiments honestly and fearlessly. If the district has good government, the voters deserve the credit; if it has bad government, the voters deserve the blame.





The Home of the First Law Maker in America.

Our Civil and Political Rights.

1. Inalienable Rights.—Our civil and political rights are sometimes called *inalienable rights* because they cannot be taken away, except as a punishment for some crime. They are our natural rights and are not conferred by any earthly power, but are given to every human being at his birth. They are:

(1) The Right to Personal Security; that is, the right to be free from attack and annoyance;

(2) The Right of Personal Liberty; that is, to go when and where he pleases, providing he does not trespass upon the rights of others; and

(3) The Right of Private Property; that is, the right to use, enjoy, and dispose of what he has acquired by labor, purchase, gift, or inheritance.

2. Industrial Rights.—It is the right and duty of each person to provide in his own way, providing it is legal



HONEST INDUSTRY.

and honest, for himself and those dependent upon him. All business transactions, the search for homes, comforts, and wealth; agriculture, manufacturing, mining and commerce; the conduct of all professions, occupations and industries; the interests of farm laborers, operatives in factories, miners, clerks, and

all persons engaged in mental or physical labor are based upon industrial rights and duties.

3. Social Rights.—Each member of society has rights as such, and these are called social rights. They include the rights of personal security and protection. They underlie all efforts for the improvement of the social condition of the people. Society is interested in better schools, in public health, in the reformation of criminals, in good highways and streets, in safe buildings, in well-lighted cities and villages, in the maintenance of charitable institutions, in the establishment of sources of harmless amusement, and in the preservation of peace and order.

4. Right of Eminent Domain.—This right of society, existing above the right of any of its members, is called the right of eminent domain. By it individual rights must yield to the rights of society, of the government, or of a corporation. A corporation is an association of individuals authorized by law to do business as a single natural person. Railway companies, banks, chartered cities and villages, and the counties of some states are corporations.

5. Moral Rights.—Man is a moral being; that is, he is conscious of good and evil. Therefore he has moral rights

and duties. He has rights of conscience, with which it is not the province of government to interfere. He naturally worships a being superior to himself, and feels the obligation to deal justly with his fellowmen. He has a right to do so and say all things which are not unlawful or wrong within themselves. It is right to worship when he pleases, whom he pleases, and as he pleases.



OUR RIGHTS "CLAR COMFORT."



DANIEL WEBSTER.
Born in N. H., 1782, Died 1852.

How to Become a Public Speaker.

1. **Great Orators.**—It must be remembered that great orators who have astonished the world with their cutting wit and power of words were once obscure, timid and bashful boys. It must be remembered, too, that the most of the great orators of the past came from the humble walks of life. They were not born in palaces nor inherited wealth nor were educated in luxury. They invariably were of poor parentage, but self made, and by hard struggle and untiring labor they worked their way to the front.

2. **Every Young Man's Duty.**—Every young man should be able, with calmness and self-possession, to express himself in public. This can be done by a little extra preparation and study. If a man has anything to say,

**JOHN C. CALHOUN.**

Born in S. C., 1782; Died, 1852.

and knows what to say, he may experience some embarrassment in making his first effort, yet he can always say it with credit to himself and to his friends. The great trouble is ignorance, and people are often called upon to say something in public when they have nothing to say. It takes a reading and thinking man to speak in public.

3. How to Prepare for Public Speaking.—In the first place get over the idea that you will never be called upon to say something in public. Overcome this thought, and it is one of the first steps toward oratory. It will, no doubt, happen many times in the course of your lifetime that you will be called upon to speak in a public gathering, or to preside over some public meeting. Study the parliament-



PATRICK HENRY.
Born 1736, Died 1799.

ary laws as given in this book, and it will be a great acquisition. Read the papers, the magazines, and pick out parts and portions that impress you and study them so that you can remember them. Study the papers as well as read them, and discuss the prominent subjects or topics of the day with your friends. It is wonderful what an amount of knowledge you can gain by simply improving your spare moments.

4. **What Books to Read.**—Read books of history, read the life of Napoleon Bonaparte, Matthews' "Getting On in the World;" Smiles' two books on "Duty and Character;" Ridpath's History of the United States; Macaulay's History of England; Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of Rome," and there are various other books that you will find interesting, impressive, and highly instructive. Good public speakers ought to be extensive readers.

5. Writing.—You should sit down and write an address or essay upon some subject of public interest, either political, social, or otherwise. After writing it study it over carefully and re-write and re-write it several times; after each time be sure to study it over carefully and find parts or portions that can be profitably improved. This address or essay is not supposed to be delivered or read, though it is a good thing to keep and lay away for future reference. After writing a few of these addresses and committing them to memory you will find to your surprise that you can think better, speak better and write better. It is a practice that excels all other methods of preparation.

6. Reading and Re-reading.—Next in value to the frequent use of the pen is the practice of carefully reading and re-reading the best prose writers and poets, and committing their finest passages to memory, so as to be able to repeat them at any moment without effort. The advantages of this practice are that it not only strengthens the memory, but fills and fertilizes the mind with pregnant and suggestive thoughts, expressed in the happiest language, stores it with graceful images, and, above all, forms the ear to the rhythm and number of the period which add so much to its impressiveness and force.

7. Melody.—It is the melody of a sentence which, so to speak, makes it cut, which gives it speedy entrance into the mind, causes it to penetrate deeply, and to exercise a magic power over the heart. It is not enough that the speaker's utterances impress the mind of the hearer, they should ring in his ears; they should appeal to the senses, as well as to the feelings, the imagination, and the intellect; then, when they seize at once on the whole man, on body, soul, and spirit, will they "swell in the heart and kindle in the eyes," and constrain him, he knows not why, to believe and to obey.

8. Oratorical Moulds.—Let the student of oratory, then, brood over the finest passages of English composition, both prose and poetry, in his leisure hours, till his mind is surcharged with them; let him read and re-read the ever-varied verse of Shakespeare, the majestic and pregnant lines of Milton, the harmonious and cadenced compositions of Bolingbroke, Grattan, Erskine, Curran, and Robert Hall. Let him dwell upon these passages and recite them till they almost seem his own, and insensibly, without effort, he will "form to theirs the relish of his soul," and will find himself adopting their language and imitating them instinctively through a natural love for the beautiful, and the strong desire which every one feels

to reproduce what is pleasing to him. By this process he will have prepared in his mind, so to speak, a variety of oratorical moulds, of the most exquisite shape and pattern, into which the stream of thought, flowing red-hot and molten from a mind glowing with fire of declamation, will become fixed, as metal in a foundry takes the form of a noble or beautiful statue.

PARLIAMENTARY LAWS.

How to Conduct a Public Meeting; How to Organize a Debating Society or Other Literary Organizations.

1. **The Ignorance of Parliamentary Laws.**—It is surprising to see how few people understand the simple principles of parliamentary laws. How often is a person called to preside in public meetings or is called up to take the chair in a social gathering when he is entirely ignorant of the first principles of a presiding officer. He is embarrassed, stammers, and his conduct becomes painful to his friends. A little study on the part of the person will sufficiently qualify him to carry out the duties of a presiding officer with dignity and satisfaction to all.

2. **How to Organize a Public Meeting, Occasional or Mass Meeting.**—The first thing to be done in a common meeting is to organize. The time appointed having arrived, some one calls the meeting to order, and moves that A., B. or C. act as chairman of this meeting. If this motion fails another is nominated till a chairman is obtained and takes the chair. The next business is the election of a secretary. The chairman calls for nomination, which being made and seconded the vote is taken. The secretary being elected, no other officers are usually necessary in a meeting of this kind. The chairman asks what is the further pleasure of the meeting, when some one of those at whose instance the meeting has been called rises and states the object of the meeting, or better still, introduces a resolution previously prepared to express the sense of the meeting on the subject which has called them together.

3. **Main Question.**—All business should be introduced by a motion or resolution. This is called the "Main Question," or "Principal Motion." When a motion of this kind is pending, no other principal motion can be introduced. But there are certain other motions which would be in order, and in reference to some of these still other motions would be in order, while the main question is still pending. Some of these must be seconded, others need not be; some can be amended,



**Hon. Joseph H. Choate, of N. Y., Chairman of the
State Convention of 1895.**

others can not; some can be debated, others can not; to some the previous question applies, to others it does not; some can be laid on the table, committed, postponed definitely or indefinitely, others can not; some can be reconsidered, others can not; some require a two-thirds vote, others are decided by simply a majority.

4. A Meeting of Delegates.—When the members of an assembly have already been appointed, the first business after a temporary organization, effected as above, is to appoint a committee on credentials to ascertain who are properly members of the meeting. Then proceed to a permanent organization, and the business of the meeting.

5. Privileged Motions.—So called because on account of their importance, they take precedence of all other questions.

6. Incidental Motions.—Incidental motions such as are incident to, or grow out of other questions, and must therefore be decided before the questions which give rise to them.

7. Subsidiary Motions.—Subsidiary motions, or such as are applied to other motions for the sake of disposing of them in some other way than by direct adoption or rejection.

8. The Main Question.—The main question which has already been spoken of.

9. Miscellaneous Motions.—Miscellaneous motions, under which head come the motions, "To Reconsider," "To Fill Blanks," and "To Renew a Motion."

By this is meant that any motion in the 2d, 3d, and 4th classes yield to any motion in the 1st class; the 3d and 4th yield to the 1st and 2d; and the 4th to the 1st, 2d and 3d. This is the general rule; but it is subject to some modifications, as will hereafter appear.

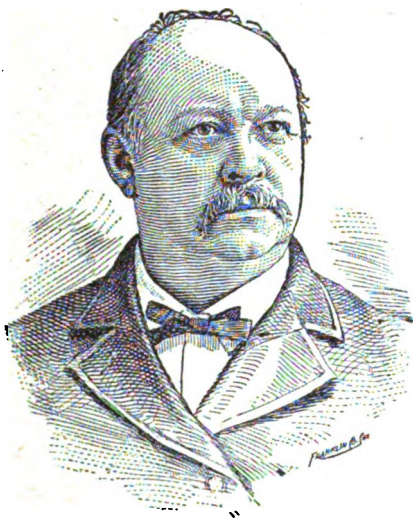
10. The Privileged Motions.—The privileged motions in the order of their precedence are:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. To fix the time to adjourn. | 3. Questions of privilege. |
| 2. To adjourn. | 4. Orders of the day. |

11. The Motion to Fix the Time to Which to Adjourn.—The motion to fix the time to which to adjourn is not a motion to adjourn, but, as its name signifies, is simply a motion to fix the time to which the adjournment will stand, when the motion to adjourn is carried. Its form is "I move that when we adjourn we adjourn to" such a date or "to meet again at" such a date, naming the date. It takes precedence of all other motions, and is in order even after the vote to adjourn is taken, if the result has not been stated by the chair.

12. The Motion to Adjourn.—The motion to adjourn takes precedence of all motions except the foregoing, to which it yields; that is to say, it may be made when any other motion is pending except the motion to fix the time of adjournment, but cannot be made when this latter motion is pending.

13. Questions of Privilege.—These must not be confounded with "Privileged Questions." The latter embrace the whole list of motions in this class; the former is only one species in the class. As examples of questions of privilege the following may be mentioned: Whether disorder shall be restrained; whether an open window endangering the health of any one may not be closed; whether charges against the official character of any member shall be allowed, etc., etc. The form of raising this question is (addressing the chair and obtaining the floor), "I rise to a question of privilege." The chair requests the member to state his question; then he decides whether it is a question of privilege or not.



THOMAS BRACKETT REED, of Maine,
Speaker of House of Representatives 54th Congress,
and Republican Orator.

14. Orders of the Day.—This expression is used to designate those subjects the consideration of which has been assigned to a particular time. When it is desirable to consider a subject at some future time the motion is made that such a subject be made "the order of the day" for such a time, fixing the precise time; or, if a regular business has been made the general order for such time, that the subject be made the "special order." It requires a two-thirds vote to make a subject a special order; but when so made it takes precedence of the general order.

15. Incidental Motions.—The incidental motions in the order of precedence are as follows:

1. Appeal (Questions of order).
2. Objections to considering a question.
3. Reading of papers.
4. Withdrawing a motion.
5. Suspension of the rules.

16. Appeal (Questions of Order).—A member detecting any disorder in the proceedings of the assembly, or the deportment or decorum of members which he wishes to correct, he obtains the floor and says, "I rise to a point of order." The chairman responds, "Please state your point of order." After it is stated, the chairman decides whether the point is well taken or not. From this decision any member may appeal by saying, "I appeal from the decision of the chair." If any one seconds this appeal, the chairman at once states the question "Shall the decision of the chair be sustained," and immediately puts it to vote. It cannot be debated when it relates simply to decorum, transgression of rules, priority of business, or while a previous question is pending.

17. Objections to Considering a Question.—When a member announces that he objects to the consideration of any question, the chairman immediately puts to vote the propositions, "Shall the question be discussed?" If decided in the affirmative, the decision goes on; but if decided in the negative, the whole matter is dismissed for that session.

18. Reading of Papers.—Every member has the right to have a paper read before voting upon it. When any one calls for the reading of a paper, the chairman immediately orders it read if no one objects. If objection is made, the question whether it shall be read or not must be put to vote without debate or amendment.

19. Withdrawal of a Motion.—The person who makes a motion can withdraw it if no objection is made. If objection is made to the withdrawal of a motion, the question whether it shall be withdrawn or not must be decided by vote. It cannot be debated or amended.

20. Suspension of the Rules.—When it is desired for any purpose to suspend the rules, the form of the motion is, "to suspend the rules which interfere with," etc., specifying the object of the suspension. It cannot be debated, cannot be reconsidered, nor have any subsidiary motion applied to it; and it requires a two-thirds vote. A motion to suspend for the same purpose cannot be regarded.

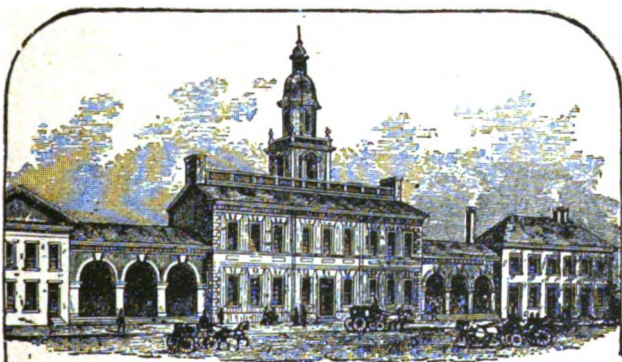
21. Subsidiary Motion.—This is as important a class of motions as any in the whole list, and a class more frequently used than any others. The subsidiary motions are the following:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. To lay on the table. | 4. To commit. |
| 2. The previous question. | 5. To amend. |
| 3. To postpone to a certain day. | 6. To postpone indefinitely. |

These motions stand, with respect to each other, in the order of precedence here given.

CHAPTER II.

Our Country and Its People—Origin and Development.



Independence Hall, Philadelphia, the Place where the American Republic was Born, July 4, 1776.

The Story of American Independence and the Origin of the First Congress.

1. Continental Congress.—This was on the 10th of May, 1775, with Lexington a few weeks earlier, Bunker Hill a few weeks later, and the "Declaration of Independence" fourteen months in the future. But there was a "Continental Congress." It had existed since the 5th of September, 1774.

2. Independence.—How came Congress to assemble on that 5th day of September, 1774? Independence was not thought of by the people. The idea would have been painful if entertained. Or if entertained, it would have been re-

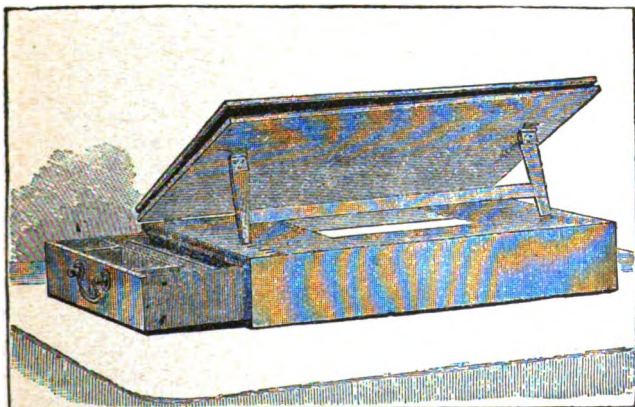
jected as undesirable. To be sure, the struggle was already a fierce one, but it was for the rights of the people as English subjects. Why did a Congress assemble?

3. **The Declaration of Independence.**—Results appear with suddenness. We must look far back for the preparatives which slowly, tediously evolve and mature them. The Declaration of Independence burst on the world perfected, like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, but it took a century and a half of pregnant events to bring this about. The general reader—indeed, often the interested student—is apt to commence the investigation of the occurrences which precipitated the great war for liberty, if not with the event of July 4, 1776, certainly no farther back than the passage of the Stamp Act, or of its repeal, or the story of the “tea party” in Boston Harbor. Yet, if any part of our history is to be omitted or lightly passed over by young or old in comparison, one portion with the other, let every soul in this country in preference master the account in all its details of the colonizing of the thirteen original states, and understand what the people had to contend with in a hundred different shapes, and how famine, pestilence, contests with Indians, dreadful as they were, came to be less feared, because of less importance, than the attempts of the rulers of the land from whence they came to subject them to the tyranny of arbitrary power.

4. **The Thirteen Original States.**—The thirteen original states were colonized by people of various origin, of every form of religious faith and belief, and of different nationalities. There were Swedes in Delaware, there were Germans in Pennsylvania, the Dutch were in New York. There were the Catholics in Maryland and Delaware, the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Church of England men in Virginia and the South, the Huguenots in New York, the Pilgrims in Massachusetts, the Liberals in Rhode Island, the Non-conformists everywhere. You can hardly imagine a greater mixture of origin, habits, caste, religious belief, and religious dissent than was to be found among the first settlers of the United States. Yet it turned out that some marvelous power of cohesion, when the hour of trouble came to one extremity of the land, bound all together in ties so strong that they could not even be disturbed by the ordinary differences and discussions which separate and keep apart communities of different customs and associations.

5. **Came Not For Gold.**—The colonies did not come to these shores in search for mines of gold and silver, nor to fish, nor to proselyte the Indians. They came mainly

for a home. This applies equally to the cavaliers in Virginia and the hardy pioneers at Plymouth. They all loved the land they left behind them. It was the home of their fathers, and had been their home until they quitted it. Besides, their friends and their kindred were still there. But when they embarked they took with them no crown with which to establish and perpetuate a divine right. Obligation to the King was acknowledged cheerfully, especially where the territory was taken under a loyal grant; but the colonists did not occupy themselves with any rights of kings. One and all claimed political freedom of original organization.



The Desk on which Jefferson Wrote the Declaration of Independence.

6. The First Bond.—Here was the first bond of union. Each colony was established under circumstances essentially differing the one from the other. But in every one, sooner or later, difficulties arose touching the royal authority over them. In many, especially New England, the colonies were left to themselves to frame their own government, which for many years was that of the people assembled in town meeting, till the population became too large, and then representatives were chosen. In fact, civil government was established by common consent on shipboard by

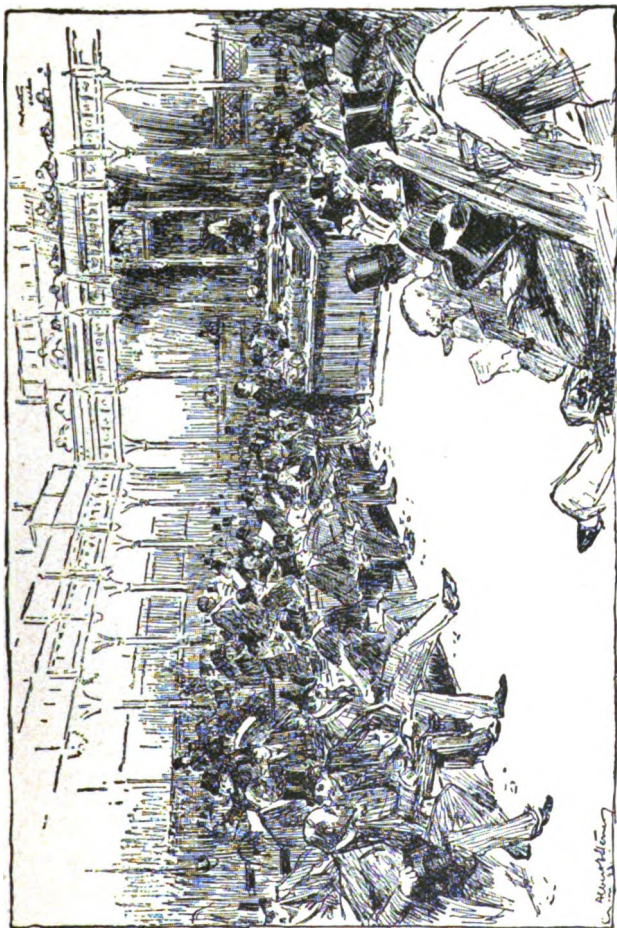
the Pilgrims and a governor chosen. It was not till the success of the colonies attracted the cupidity of the rulers at home that charters were created, many liberal in their terms, and governors appointed.

7. **First Encroachments.**—At the very first certain resolutions were adopted which controlled every one of the colonies. First was that of representation and trial by jury; second, that which provided that no taxes or impositions



Patrick Henry Addressing the Continental Congress in 1774.

should be levied upon the colonists, their land or commodities, without the consent of the people through the action of the General Assembly, the taxes to be levied and employed as the assembly should appoint. The form of these resolutions varied in the different colonies, but in all the substance was identical. The reader will at once perceive that when Parliament undertook as against any one colony to



PASSING THE STAMP ACT IN PARLIAMENT.

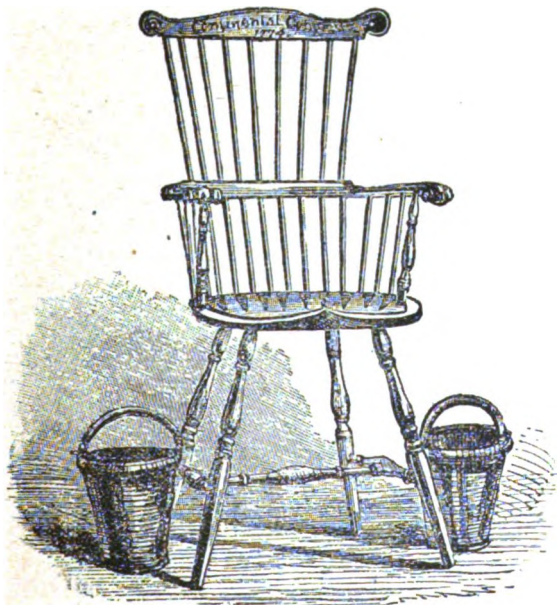
trench upon these essential rights—rights which the people insisted on as English subjects under the English Constitution—all the colonies naturally took the alarm, sympathizing practically with the aggrieved member. At first and for many years the encroachments were moderated. They were resisted vigorously from the start, and generally with success. From north to south, meanwhile, the people were from time to time harassed by inroads of hostile Indians, so that every community on these occasions became an armed camp, and the men, warriors. Their dreadful perils from a common enemy formed another bond of fraternal sympathy between the different sections. During the hundred years succeeding the year 1664 (when the whole territory forming the original United States came under the control of England) Great Britain was engaged in wars with different continental nations a large proportion of the time, and when not so engaged the condition was that of suppressed war, often worse than war itself.

8. Increasing Prosperity.—The American colonies had increased in population; they were already very considerably engaged in trade and commerce. The tobacco of Virginia, the cotton and rice of the South, were sources of increasing prosperity. Then began to be agitated the question of taxation, of restriction on the commerce of the colonies, of duties to be levied on imports. The story is familiar to us. The passage of the infamous Stamp Act, opposed by the best and noblest of the British Parliament, aroused the intense indignation of the colonies through their entire extent.

9. The Stamp Act.—The passage of the Stamp Act stirred the people as they had never been stirred before. It was on the memorable 8th of March, 1765, that the act was passed, and it was to take effect on the 1st day of November following. By the terms of this act no legal instrument in writing of any sort, no matter how insignificant, should be valid without a government stamp, and an elaborate scale of prices for the different stamps was given in detail. The first of November (when the Stamp Act was to go into operation as a law) was ushered in at Boston by the tolling of bells and other mournful tokens. Similar demonstrations took place in New York and Philadelphia, and in other towns.

10. A Large Funeral Procession.—The town of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, has unquestioned precedence in these exhibitions, both by the originality of their conception and by the genuine earnestness with which the proceedings were conducted. A large funeral procession assembled, as

if to follow a dear departed friend to the grave. A coffin handsomely constructed, inscribed with the word Liberty, was carried to the spot. Minute guns were fired. An oration, eulogistic of the virtues of the deceased, was pronounced. Here we must record a marvelous event. The oration was scarcely ended and just as the coffin was about to be lifted some tokens of life were perceived. Instantly the entire scene was transformed; hearty congratulations were exchanged, then the bells pealed forth a joyful sound, and demonstrations of satisfaction were everywhere exhibited. It is stated by an old historian that decorum and regularity marked all these proceedings.



The Old Chair Used by the First Congress.

11. The Provisions of the Stamp Act.—The provisions of the Stamp Act were evaded throughout the entire land by common consent. Documents and agreements passed be-

tween the people without the stamp. In fact, it would have deserved opprobrium to have used one, and on the 18th of March, 1766, the act was repealed. It was not repealed in acknowledgment of the American principle, but rather as a measure which proved absolutely impracticable.

12. Act to Levy a Tax.—The triumph of the colonies was short-lived. In 1767 the British Parliament passed an act to levy a tax or duty on glass, tea, paper, painters' colors, etc., besides an oppressive revenue law touching importations. This revived the agitation with a tenfold vehemence. Committees of correspondence again set to work. Non-importation and non-consumption societies were formed. In short, every method was set on foot to resist the operation of the act except that of open rebellion to it.

13. Anti-Tea-Drinking.—The colonies would not accept the situation. Anti-tea-drinking societies were formed. The great East India Company took part in the contest, and petitioned the King for a repeal of the tax. The petition was unheeded. On the contrary, the King declared "there should always be one tax to keep up the right of taxing." The rest of the story is well known. Ships loaded with teas were sent to Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston. In New York and Philadelphia the ships were not permitted to enter their cargoes, but were compelled to return with them to England. In Charleston the tea was landed and stored on an assurance that it would not be offered for sale, and the agreement was kept. In Boston there was a military force strong enough to compel compliance with the law. This led to the destruction of the cargoes of both vessels by citizens disguised as Indians.

14. King and Parliament.—King and Parliament received tidings of the event with amazement. Such audacious acts merited swift and ample punishment. The inhabitants of Boston must be taught by the severest methods not to set the law at defiance. The measure adopted by Parliament was indeed a cruel and complete one. On the 7th of March, 1774, the "Boston Port Bill" was passed, which closed the town as a port of entry, and transferred all the maritime business to Salem.

15. Financial Ruin.—It is difficult to figure the financial ruin which the act brought upon the business men, and the want and distress which it entailed on the inhabitants. It is still more difficult to figure the flame which was kindled in the breast of every person throughout the widely extended provinces. It is not difficult to record and transmit the events which took place, but the agitation of the public mind can never be adequately described, or, in fact, com-

prehended. All the inhabitants of the land, from New Hampshire to Georgia, were carried away in this tremendous upheaving; not the young and impetuous only—in fact, not the fiery and impetuous so much as the aged and temperate were aroused by this revengeful and merciless blow inflicted on the town of Boston. This answers our question, "How came a Congress to assemble on the 5th of September, 1774?"

The Story of the Declaration of Independence.

The first suggestion of American independence was made in England. In the London *Chronicle*, October 25, 1774, an elaborate article appeared entitled "American Independence the Interest and Glory of Great Britain." It was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, but there was no response. Attachment to the mother country survived the tea riots of that year, and in March, 1775, Franklin informed Lord Chatham that he had never heard an opinion looking toward independence from any American, "drunk or sober." But the "massacre at Lexington," as the first collision (April 19, 1775) was called, moved the country to indignation. It was an illustration of how great a matter a little fire kindleth. A few villagers under Captain Parker (grandfather of Theodore Parker, who kept the captain's musket on his wall) met the English troops. Parker had warned them not to fire unless fired on, but one could not restrain himself; his gun missed fire but the flash brought a volley from the Englishmen, and independence was potentially written in the blood of the seven men who were left dead in Lexington. A few days after the tidings reached Philadelphia appeared the April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, edited by Thomas Paine. It contained a summary of Chatham's speech, in which he said the Crown would lose its luster if "robbed of so principal a jewel as America." Paine adds this footnote: "The principal jewel of the Crown actually dropped out at the coronation." This little footnote was probably the nearest approach to a suggestion of independence made by any American even then. And among all the fiery meetings held throughout the colonies only one ventured to utter the word independence. From the county of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, came resolutions passed May 31 and June 10, 1775, demanding the

organization of an independent government. Congress would not allow such treasonable resolutions to be read before it, and the written records were lost. Jefferson pronounced the Mecklenburg resolutions mythical. But lately a copy of the *South Carolina Gazette* of June 13, 1776, has been discovered containing the resolutions; it is in Charleston and I have seen a photographed copy.

The first argument for independence, from the American point of view, was from the pen of Thomas Paine. It was printed in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, October 18, 1775, under the title, "A Serious Thought," and over the signature, "Humanus." It presents a series of charges against Great Britain, somewhat resembling those of the "Declaration," and concludes: "When I reflect on these, I hesitate not for a moment to believe that the Almighty will finally separate America from Britain—call it Independency or what you will—if it is the cause of God and humanity it will go on." The king is especially arraigned for establishing African slavery in America, which independence will abolish. Paine's phraseology leaves little doubt that he wrote the anti-slavery passage in the Declaration which was struck out. While writing "Common Sense," which really determined the matter, Paine was suspected of being a British spy. Nor was it so absurd, for up to the "massacre of Lexington" he had been active in conciliation. He was discussed at the prospective outbreak, and wrote to Franklin: "I thought it very hard to have the country set on fire about my ears almost the moment I got into it." "Common Sense" appeared January 10, 1776. Washington pronounced it "unanswerable" (to Joseph Reed, January 31), and indeed there was not a leading patriot in the country who did not applaud. New York had instructed its congressmen not to vote for independence; but one of its delegates, Henry Wisner, sent its leading assemblymen this pamphlet, asking their answer. As they could not give any, Wisner disregarded their instructions, and the state had to come round to him. At that time many ascribed the pamphlet to Franklin, who was one day reproached by a lady for the expression, "Royal brute of Great Britain." Franklin assured her that he was not the author, and would never have so dishonored the brute creation.

"A little thing sometimes produces a great effect," wrote Cobbett from America to Lord Grenville. "It appears to me very clear that some beastly insults offered to Mr. Paine while he was in the excise in England was the real cause of the revolution in America." This is more epigrammatic than exact. Paine was turned out of the excise for absenting

himself from his post (Lewes) without leave. It was not fair, for he had been engaged by the excisemen of England to try and get a bill through Parliament raising their salaries, and had to be much in London; and no other fault was charged. There were no insults, but he was left penniless, and Franklin advised his coming to America. Here he at once secured a good position, and was editing the only important magazine of the country, without any animosity to England. However, Cobbett is right when he further says that whoever may have written the "Declaration" Paine was its author. At that time Philadelphia was full of so called "tories." Their chief nest was the university, presided over by Rev. William Smith, D. D., who, as "Cato," attacked "Common Sense." Paine replied under the name "Forrester," and President Smith was so worsted that he lost his position, and left Philadelphia for a small curacy in Maryland. Paine resided in a room opposite the chief meeting-house of the Quakers, who, under pretext of peace-principles, aided the enemy. "Common Sense" insisted that they should address their testimony against war to the invaders equally with the invaded, and as they were not ready to do this their influence was destroyed. The danger to independence now lay in the approach of peace commissioners from England. Paine issued a little pamphlet entitled "Dialogue Between the Ghost of General Montgomery, Just Arrived from the Elysian Fields, and an American Delegate." The gallant ghost warns the delegate that union with England is impossible, and, were it otherwise, would be a wrong to the English as well as the American people. This pamphlet was effective in strengthening waverers.

On June 7, 1775, Hon. Richard Henry Lee submitted to Congress a resolution that the colonies are and ought to be independent. A committee was appointed to propose appropriate action and reported June 28 through Benjamin Harrison, great-grandfather of the late President. It was found that six states hesitated—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina. Congress postponed the matter until July 1, meantime appointing a committee to draft a Declaration, another to organize a Confederation and a third to obtain foreign aid. The committee on a Declaration (Jefferson, John Adams, Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston), reported on July 2. A bare majority in Congress passed the Declaration on July 4. Congress then adjourned to July 15, in order that efforts might be made to induce New York and Maryland to withdraw their restrictions on their delegates, who were personally favorable to independ-

ence. On July 15 all were free and unanimous. On the 19th Congress ordered the Declaration to be engrossed and signed by every member. The paper had been signed on July 4 only by John Hancock, president of Congress, and the secretary, Charles Thompson. The engrossed copy was produced August 2 and signed by the members, some signatures being added later. The first to sign was Josiah Bartlett, of New Hampshire, and the last Matthew Thornton, of the same colony, when he took his seat November 4. In Trumbull's picture of the "signing," in the capital, more pomp is given to the affair than accompanied it. The secretary was so little impressed that his entry that the members signed is written on the margin of the journal of Congress. Thomas Stone, of Maryland, who signed, is not in Trumbull's picture, and Robert Livingston, who did not sign, being absent, is put in.

The earliest draft of the Declaration, before the anti-slavery paragraphs were stricken out, is in the library of the state department; the draft agreed to by the committee and passed by Congress is lost; the engrossed Declaration is in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

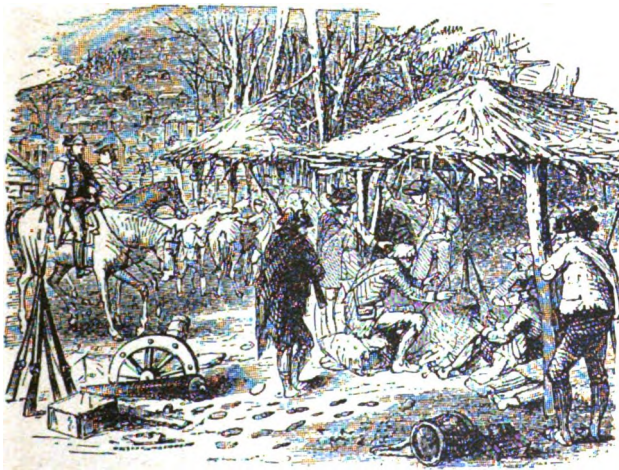
A complete collection of autographs of the "signers" is a fortune. There are only three in existence. One of these belongs to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York. The costliness of the autographs is in the ratio of the obscurity of the signers. One of the least distinguished signers was Thomas Lynch, Jr., of South Carolina. Only three examples of his writing are known, uninteresting business notes, and for one of them Dr. Emmet paid over \$5,000.

The signers of the Declaration were rich men, and all of the "gentry." The British government were probably deceived by their adopting as their spokesman, and making secretary of foreign affairs, the humble exciseman Paine. The first president of Congress, Peyton Randolph, and George Washington, would pretty certainly have been knighted but for the Revolution. The espousal of American independence by such men, and by the Adams family, the Livingstons, the Stones of Maryland, meant that the most loyal and conservative class had gone against the king, and that America was irrecoverably lost to him. A well-informed English ministry would have spared themselves and us the seven years' war.

Paine did not use only his pen in the Revolution. When the cause had been consecrated to independence he shouldered his musket, marched to the front, did such service (at Fort Mifflin) that Gen. Greene took him on his staff, shared the hardships of Washington's retreat to the Delaware, and

wrote by campfires his "Crisis," which Washington ordered to be read to his depressed soldiers. The first sentence of that "Crisis," "These are the times that try men's souls," was the watchword at Trenton, where Paine helped to capture the Hessians. He afterward went in an open boat, under fire of the English ships, to convey an order to those besieged in Fort Mifflin, and on other occasions proved his courage. He visited France, and brought back six million livres.

Thus through extreme hardships and great dangers did our forefathers declare their independence. The youth of to-day, surrounded by the countless blessings, resulting from the self-denial and bravery of the early settlers, can have but a faint conception of the cost of our liberties.



VALLEY FORGE,

Where the American army of four thousand men were unable to move out of their huts for want of clothing, during the winter of 1777-78.



Gen. Washington's Official Carriage.

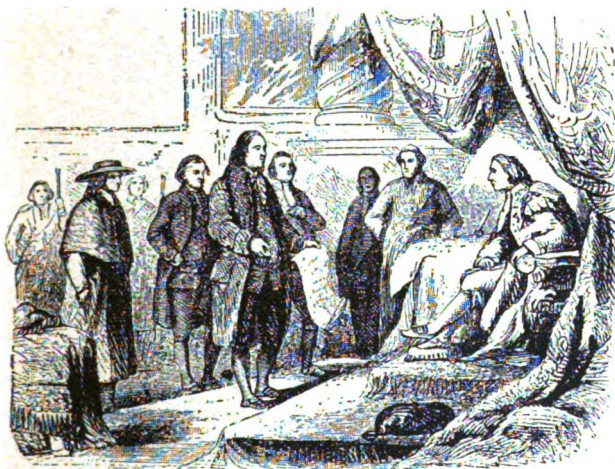
Corner Stones of American History.

1. **Rights of Man.**—No part of our history is more necessary to be understood than these first official steps taken to form a nation out of the material at hand in the New World, for by these the foundation of our government was laid on those principles which grew into being through a just view of the rights of man.

2. **The First Continental Congress.**—The First Continental Congress met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. Though composed of representatives of each colony, its delegates were not elected by the people, but were sent there by the advice and counsel of the ablest men in each colony.

3. **The Second Continental Congress.**—The next year (1775) the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, May 10. Under its authority the war began with the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, and the invasion of Canada; not for the avowed purpose of independence, but for the redress of grievances.

4. **The Declaration of Independence.**—The next year, July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was published to the world. It was the result of deliberate counsels, and fully expressed the demands of the colonists.



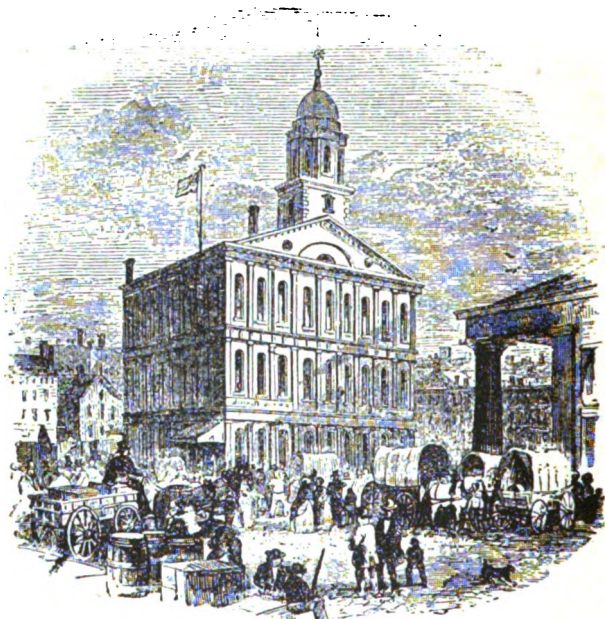
Franklin pleading the cause of America before the French Court.

5. Articles of Confederation.—Even at this time the resolution or conviction that all the thirteen colonies were to unite under one government was not universal; and it was not until July 9, 1778, that the delegates to Congress from each colony under instructions from their constituents, signed articles of confederation and perpetual union. This was another important step in the great chain of events which made the American Nation.

6. What the Continental Congress Did.—Under the direction of this old Continental Congress, the first machinery of our government was set in motion. Armies were raised, taxes levied, debts contracted and money issued; and by its authority, after victory had crowned its armies in the field, and the respect of European nations had been won by the wisdom of its acts, peace was made with England at Paris, September 3, 1783.

7. American Commissioners.—Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and John Jay were the American Commissioners who signed the definite treaty.

8. General Washington Resigned His Commissions to Congress.—On the 23d of December, 1783, Gen.



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

"The Cradle of American Liberty."

Washington resigned his commission to Congress and retired to private life at Mount Vernon. But the labors of the Continental Congress were not yet completed. It had become evident that the loose confederacy, at whose head it stood, had served its purpose, and must soon fall to pieces.

9. **The New Constitution Formed.**—On February 21, 1787, a resolution was moved and carried in Congress recommending a convention to meet in Philadelphia, to revise the articles of confederation.

The convention met in Philadelphia, and on May 25, 1787 unanimously elected George Washington its President.

The convention sat with closed doors, and remained in session till the 17th of September following, when they reported the draft of the present Constitution.

After very full and excited discussion, the Constitution was adopted, and on the 30th of April, 1789, was put into complete operation by the inauguration, at New York, of George Washington, as the first President under it.

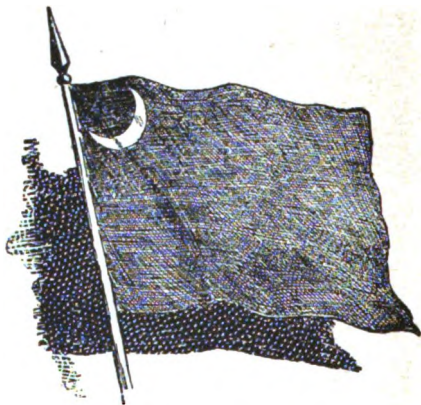


**The House in Philadelphia where the first
"Stars and Stripes" was made.**

Origin of Our National Flag.

Up to June of 1777 the troops of the various American colonies which had declared their independence of the mother country had fought under any ensign which chanced to please their fancy. Most of the New York forces had fought under a flag in which the stripes and the orange,

white and red of the old Dutch republic were prominent; the Connecticut soldiers had displayed a red flag with the inscription, "An Appeal to Heaven," on one side, and the Latin motto of the colony, "*Qui transulit sustinet*,"* on the



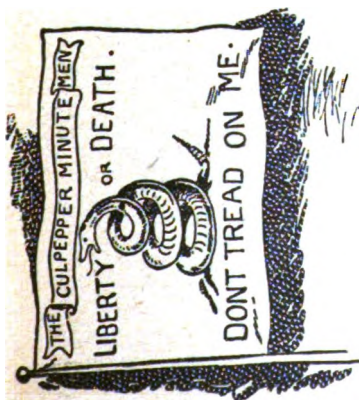
The First South Carolina Flag, (blue with white crescent, 1775).



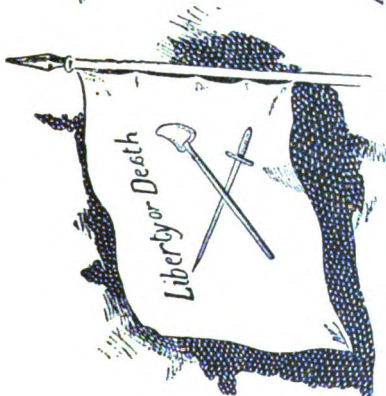
The Gadsden Flag, 1776.

other; the South Carolina men at one period used a palmetto banner, and other colonial forces had flown flags which had special and local significance.

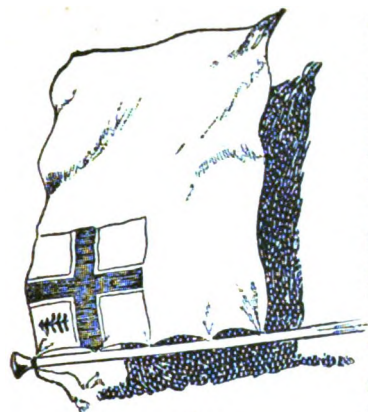
* "He who has transplanted us will sustain us"



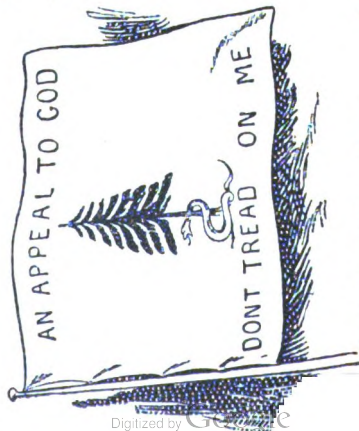
A "Minute Men's" Flag.



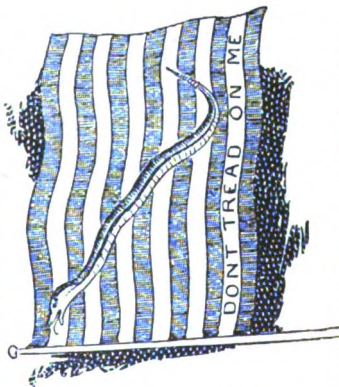
A Flag of White Plains, 1776.



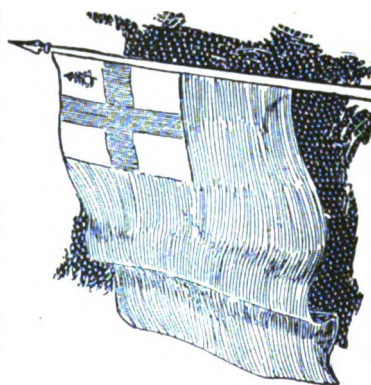
A Bunker Hill Flag, (white ground).



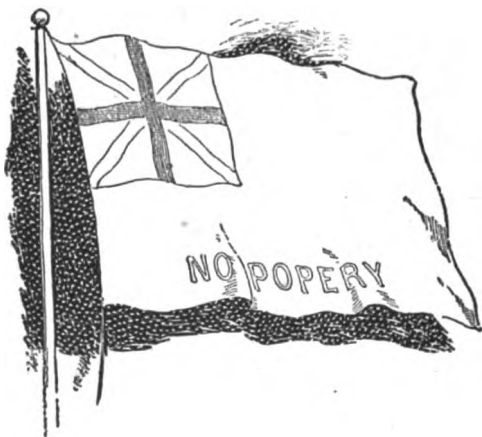
Paul Jones' First Flag.



Commodore Hopkins' Flag, 1776. A Bunker Hill Flag, (blue ground).



Commodore Hopkins had put to sea in February, 1776, with the first revolutionary fleet, displaying a flag of thirteen alternate red and white stripes, with the red and white crosses of St. George and St. Andrew charged on a blue "canton" or square in the upper corner. This flag was used more than any other one at the time, June, 1777, when the Continental Congress, in session at Philadelphia, appointed a committee to construct a common flag for the colonies.

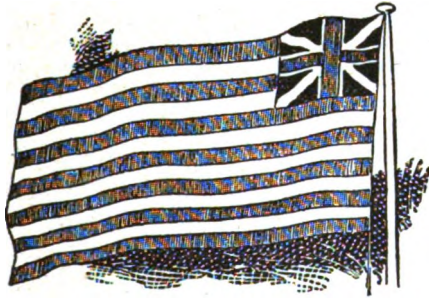


A Liberty Flag.

On June 14 this committee made its report. It advised that "the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." The report was thereupon put into the form of a resolution, and the resolution was unanimously adopted without discussion.

The Colors.—Red, white and blue are a modification of orange, white and blue, the colors of the Dutch republic, and the ones used by New York's forces. They were chosen by the flag committee for the same reason that stripes were decided upon. Red was later explained to be typical of the blood patriots were ready to shed; white, of the purity of their cause, and blue of the favor of Heaven.

Contrasting colors, white and either blue or red, were necessary to be utilized for the color of the stripes. Red was preferred to blue, because it was more distinct at a dis-



Flag of the Royal Savage, 1776.

tance. For this same reason, red, instead of white, was chosen as the color of the topmost stripe, and consequently of the lowermost, also. Red and white having thus been already used, the color assigned the Union was necessarily blue, and the stars in the Union were appropriately made white. The Union was made square and was brought down to the eighth stripe, that its blue might be showed against white (a contrasting color), the color of that stripe.



**Nailing the Colors to the Mast Head.
The "Stars and Stripes,"**

Origin of Thanksgiving Day.

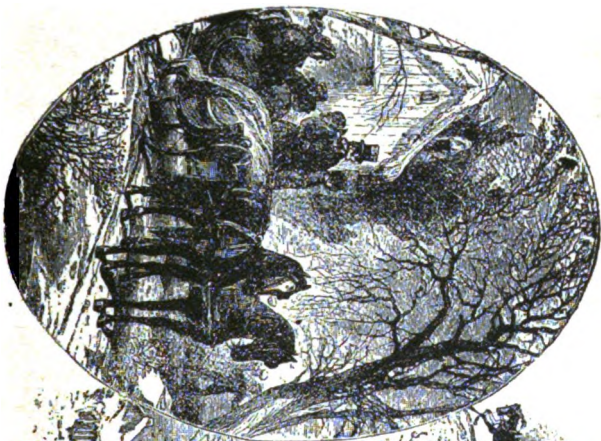
1. **Hebrew Feast of Harvest.**—The Thanksgiving day of the Hebrews was called "The Feast of Harvest," and was a grand annual festival. Probably the world has never witnessed the parallel of Hebrew anniversaries. A day of thanksgiving was occasionally observed by the Dutch and other European nations.

2. **New England's Day.**—The origin of this annual thanksgiving festival on the American continent is credited to the New England colonies. The early settlers endured many privations and difficulties, and had frequent days of fasting and prayer. An old colonist once suggested that they had brooded long enough over their misfortunes, and that the next be made a day of thanksgivings. It was done and the custom was continued from year to year, but was confined to New England for many years. Different days were appointed by different governors.

3. **National Day.**—The first governmental recommendation made by Congress was July 20, 1775, and was continued annually until the close of the war in 1783. Then there was no observance of a national day until the adoption of the Constitution. In 1789 Congress appointed a committee to wait on the President and request that he would recommend to the people a day of public thanksgiving. Washington, in accordance therewith, named November 26. This was the first under the Constitution and the last Thanksgiving proclamation emanating from Congress. The next national Thanksgiving was observed February 19, 1795. After that there was none observed until after the close of the war of 1812; Madison, in a proclamation, recommended the second Thursday of April, 1814. Then there was no national day observed until April 10, 1862, which Lincoln recommended as a day of thanksgivings for "signal victories to the land and naval forces engaged in suppressing an internal rebellion."

4. **Last Thursday of November.**—This was the beginning of the annual custom, and in 1864 the proclamation recommended the last Thursday of November.

5. **At Home.**—Thanksgiving Day is the great "at home" day of the American people. It is the day of returns to the "old place," the day of dinners and reunions. "Come home, children, on Thanksgiving Day," slowly writes the trembling finger of a venerable sire. The palsy and rheumatism have not yet touched his heart, as one sees when, with glistening eyes, he reads the prompt answer, "We are all coming."



THE NEW WAY.

THANKSGIVING SLEIGH RIDE.



THE OLD WAY.



**DECORATING THE GRAVES OF THE FALLEN
HEROES WITH FLOWERS.**

Origin of Decoration Day.

On the 30th of May, thirty-three years ago, four women bearing flowers entered Arlington cemetery and decorated the graves of the dead soldiers. To-day countless thousands actuated by the same loving spirit will lay a nation's tribute at the feet of the nation's martyred sons.

Among all America's treasured anniversaries there is no other which holds the gentleness and sweetness of Decoration Day. One year after the fall of Fort Sumter, the day had its origin. May 30, 1862, Mrs. Sarah Nichols, of Dubuque, Ia., accompanied by the wife and two daughters of Chaplain May, of the 2d Michigan volunteers, laid flowers on the graves of dead soldiers in the national cemetery at Arlington. On the same day of the following year the same women observed the same beautiful service. The women of Fredericksburg took up the mission in 1863, and until the year 1874 May 30 was continuously observed in this manner, the custom in the meantime spreading. In 1874 Congress took cognizance of the day and set it apart as a national holiday.

The beautiful and impressive flower service to-day will perfume the atmosphere of every cemetery which holds the country's dead heroes in commemoration of one of the greatest struggles in the history of nations. But after more than a quarter of a century there is no bitterness in the observance. Even grief has become softened in the lapse of years.

Humanity's best sentiments become active on such an occasion as this, and the nation is the better for its influence.

What the Americans Have Done.

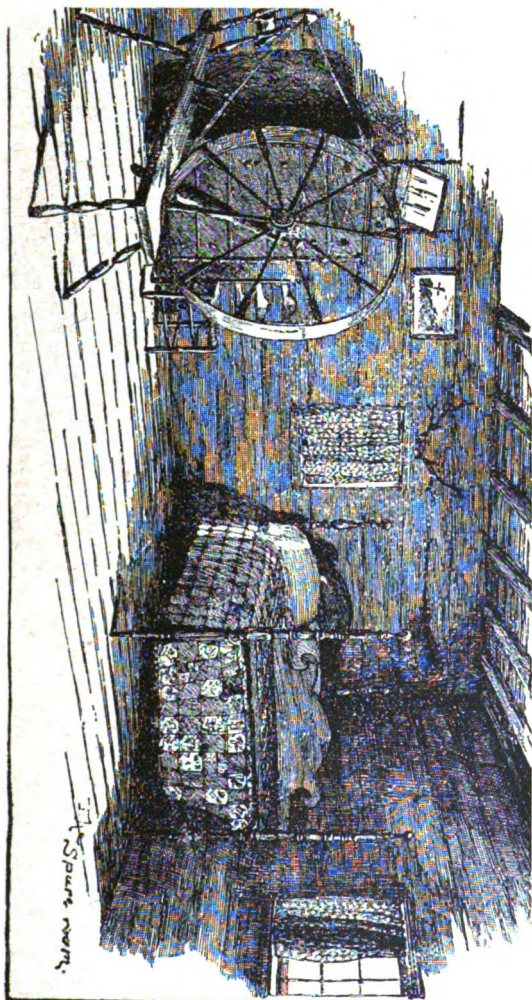
1. A Hundred Years Ago.—A hundred years ago the agricultural interests of our country were mostly in the hands of uneducated men. Science was not applied to husbandry. A spirit of improvement was scarcely known. The son copied the ways of his father. He worked with no other implements and pursued no other methods of cultivation; and he who attempted a change was regarded as a visionary or an innovator. Very little associated effort for improvement in the business of farming was then seen. The first association for such a purpose was formed in the south, and was known as the "South Carolina Agricultural Society," organized in 1784. A similar society was formed in Pennsylvania the following year. Now there are state, county, and even town agricultural societies in almost every part of the Union.

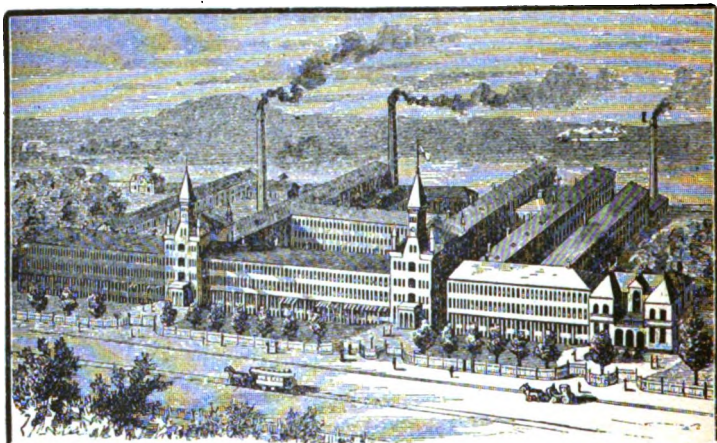


Clearing the First Farm in New England.

2. Agricultural Implements.—Agricultural implements were rude and simple. They consisted chiefly of the plow, harrow, spade, hoe, hand-rake, scythe, sickle, and wooden fork. The plow had a clumsy, wrought-iron share with wooden mould-board, which was sometimes plated with tin or sheet-iron. The rest of the structure was equally clumsy; and the implement required in its use, twice the amount of strength of man and beast that the present plow does. Improvements in the construction of plows during the past fifty years save to the country annually, in work and teams, at least \$12,000,000. The first patent for a cast-iron plow was issued in 1797. To the beginning of 1875, about four hundred patents have been granted.

THE HOME OF OUR GRANDMOTHER.





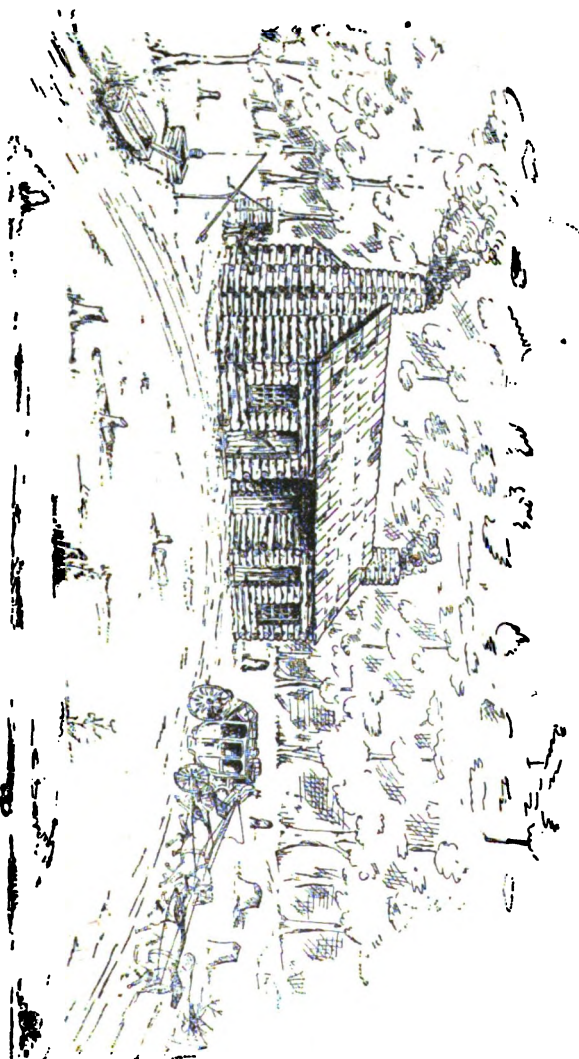
WATCH WORKS AT WALTHAM, MASS.

3. **Seed was Sown by Hand.**—A hundred years ago the seed was sown by hand, and the entire crop was harvested by hard, manual labor. The grass was cut with a scythe, and "cured," and gathered with a fork and handrake. The grain was cut with a sickle, threshed with a flail or the treading of horses, and was cleared of the chaff by a large clamshell shaped fan of wickerwork, used in a gentle breeze. The drills, seedsowers, cultivators, mowers, reapers, threshing machines, and fanning mills of our days were all unknown.

4. **Iron Manufacture.**—Now iron is manufactured in our country in every form from a nail to a locomotive. A vast number of machines have been invented for carrying on these manufactures; and the products in cutlery, firearms, railway materials, and machinery of every kind, employ vast numbers of men and a great amount of capital. Our locomotive builders are regarded as the best in the world; and no nation on the globe can compete with us in the construction of steamboats of every kind, from the ironclad war steamer to the harbor tug.

5. **Copper, Silver and Gold.**—In the manufacture of copper, silver and gold, there has been great progress. At the close of the Revolution no manufactures of the kind existed in our country. Now, the manufacture of copperware yearly, of every kind, and jewelry and watches, has become a large item in our commercial tables.

THE FIRST HOTEL IN BOSTON.



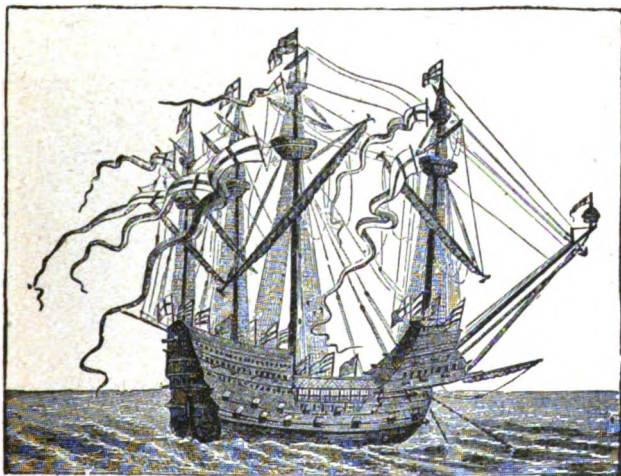
6. **A Lust for Gold.**—A lust for gold, and the knowledge of its existence in America, was the chief incentive to emigration to these shores. But within the domain of our republic very little of it was found, until that domain was extended far toward the Pacific ocean. It was unsuspected until long after the Revolution. Finally, gold was discovered among the mountains of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and in Georgia. North Carolina was the first state in the Union to send gold to the mint in Philadelphia. Its first small contribution was in 1804. From that time until 1823 the average amount produced from North Carolina mines did not exceed \$2,500 annually. Virginia's first



**Sutter's Mill, California, where Gold was Discovered
in 1848.**

contribution was in 1829, when that of North Carolina for that year was \$128,000. Georgia sent its first contribution in 1830. It amounted to \$212,000. The product so increased that branch mints were established in North Carolina and Georgia in 1837 and 1838, and another in New Orleans. In 1848 gold was discovered in the American fork of the Sacramento river in California and soon afterward elsewhere in that region. A gold fever seized the people of the United States, and thousands rushed to California in search of the precious metals. Within a year from the discovery nearly 50,000 people were there. Less than five years afterward,

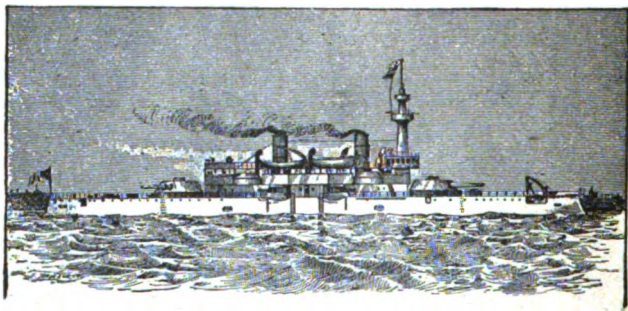
California, in one year, sent to the United States mint fully \$40,000,000 in gold. Its entire gold product in this time is estimated at more than \$800,000,000. Over all the far western states and territories the precious metals, gold and silver, seem to be scattered in profusion, and the amount of mineral wealth yet to be discovered there seems to be incalculable. Our coal fields seem to be inexhaustible; and out of the bosom of the earth, in portions of our country, flow millions of barrels annually of petroleum, or rock oil, affording the cheapest illuminating material in the world.



The First Warship.

7. Mineral Coal.—Mineral coal was first discovered and used in Pennsylvania at the period of the Revolution. A boat load was sent down the Susquehanna from Wilkesbarre for the use of the Continental works at Carlisle. But it was not much used before the war of 1812, and the regular business of mining this fuel did not become a part of the commerce of the country before the year 1820, when 365 tons were sent to Philadelphia. At the present time the amount of coal sent to market from the American mines, of all kinds, is equal to full 30,000,000 tons annually.

8. The First Canals.—The first canals made in this country were two short ones, for a water passage around the South Hadley and Montague Falls, in Massachusetts. These were constructed in 1792. At about the same time the Inland Rock Navigation Companies, in the state of New York, began their work. The Middlesex canal, connecting Lowell with Boston harbor, was completed in 1808, and the great Erie canal, 363 miles in length, was finished in 1825, at a cost of almost \$8,000,000. The aggregate length of canals built in the United States is 3,200 miles.



The Modern Warship.

The first railway built in the United States was one three miles in length, that connected the granite quarries at Quincy, Mass., with the Neponset river. It was completed in 1827; horse power was used. The first use of a locomotive in this country was in 1829, when one was put upon a railway that connected the coal mines of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company with Honesdale. This was for freight only. The first passenger railway was opened in 1830. Now railways form a thick network all over the United States east of the Mississippi, and are rapidly spreading over the states and territories beyond, to the Pacific ocean. To these facilities for commercial operations must be added the electro-magnetic telegraph, an American invention, as a method of transmitting intelligence, and giving warning signals to the shipping and agricultural interests concerning the actual and probable state of the weather each day. The first line, forty miles in length, was constructed between

Baltimore and Washington in 1844. Now the lines are extended to every part of our Union, and all over our civilized world, traversing oceans and rivers, and bringing Paris and New York within one hour's space of intercommunication.

9. **Improvement of the Schools.**—As the nation advanced in wealth and intelligence, the necessity for correct popular education became more and more manifest, and associated efforts were made for the improvement of the schools by providing for the training of teachers under the respective phase of teachers' associations, educational periodicals, normal schools and teachers' institutes. The first of these societies in this country was the Middlesex County Association for the Improvement of Common Schools, established at Middletown, Conn., in 1799. But little of importance was done in that direction until within the last forty-five years. Now provision is made in all sections of the Union, not only for the support of common schools, but for training-schools for teachers. Since the civil war, great efforts have been made to establish common-school systems in the late slave-labor states that should include among the beneficiaries the colored population. Much has been done in that regard.

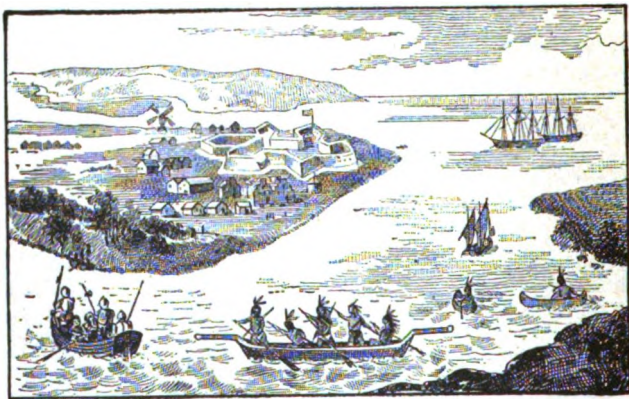
10. **Free Schools.**—Very great improvements have been made in the organization and discipline of the public schools in cities within the last thirty years. Free schools are rapidly spreading their beneficent influence over the whole Union, and in some states laws have been made that compel all children of a certain age to go to school. Institutions for the special culture of young women in all that pertains to college education have been established within a few years. The pioneer in this work is Vassar College, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., which was first opened in the year 1865. Besides the ordinary means for education, others have been established for special purposes. These are law, scientific, medical, theological, military, commercial and agricultural schools, and seminaries for the deaf, dumb and blind. In many states school district libraries have been established. There are continually enlarging means provided for the education of the whole people. Edmund Burke said, "Education is the cheap defense of nations."

11. **Newspapers.**—The newspapers printed in the United States at the beginning of the Revolution were few in number, small in size, and very meager in information of any kind. They were issued weekly, semi-weekly and tri-weekly. The first daily newspaper issued in this country was the *American Daily Advertiser* established in Phil-

adelphia in 1784. In 1775 there were thirty-seven newspapers and periodicals in the United States, with an aggregate issue that year of 1,200,000 copies. In 1870 the number of daily newspapers in the United States was 542, and of weeklies, 4,425. Of the dailies, 800,000,000 were issued that year; of the weeklies, 600,000,000; and of other serial publications, 100,000,000; making an aggregate of fully 1,500,000,000 copies. To these figures should be made a large addition at the close of 1895. There are now about forty newspapers in the United States which have existed over fifty years.

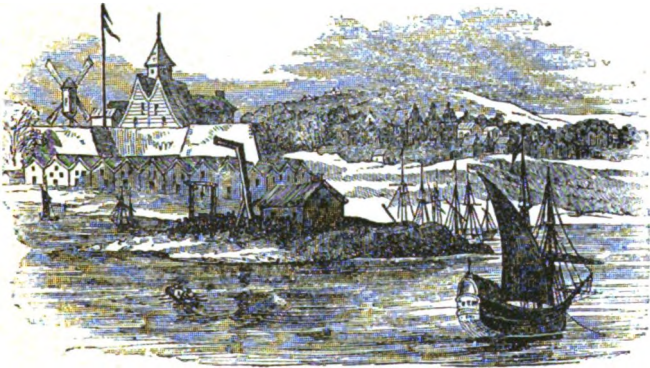
The Growth of Cities.

New York.—Nature never prepared a more picturesque or a more advantageous site for a great commercial capital than Manhattan Island, nor a harbor more secure

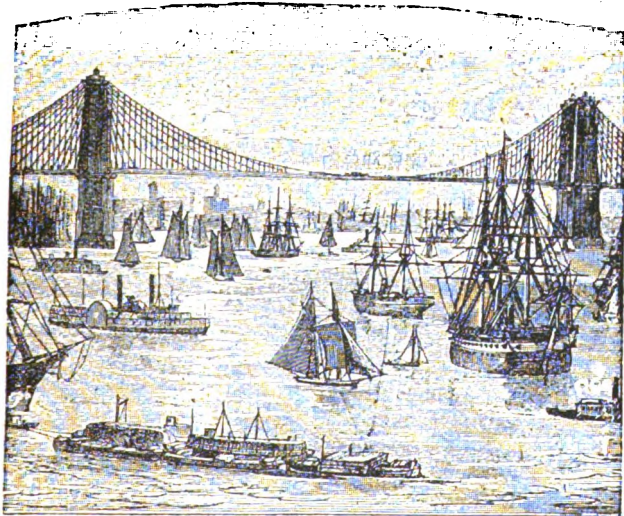


New York in 1612.

or better adapted for commerce of the world than New York bay. In primeval solitude, 3,000 miles from civilization, the discovery and settlement of the island by Europeans may be traced to causes beginning about three centuries ago. Two great Dutch commercial corporations seriously agitated the world during the half century between 1580 and 1630, and in the convulsive moments through which they took their rise, New York has its origin.



New York In 1846.



New York Harbor.

In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed to America to find a northwest passage to India. Failing in this, he explored the eastern coast of North America from Chesapeake Bay to Long Island, entered New York harbor, and ascended the Hudson beyond the present site of Albany. This voyage laid the foundation of the greatest city of the New World. New York City in 1890 had a population of 1,515,301, an increase of over 25 per cent. from the census of 1880. The population at the present writing is over two millions.

Chicago.—The second city in size is advantageously situated on the southwest shore of Lake Michigan. The name is of Indian origin, signifying "wild onion." It was first settled in 1831 and in 1832 contained about a dozen families, besides the officers of Ft. Dearborn located there. Its first charter was granted in 1837. At its settlement it seemed an unpromising site for a great city. The river mouth was a sluggish bayou, its banks marshy, muddy flats, not at all favorable to the growth of a large city. Harbors on the great lakes are not turned out ready made by nature, but must be constructed by human enterprise and skill. Western ingenuity and venturesomeness was equal to the occasion, and although the work was begun on a small scale, it was rapidly extended to meet the growing wants of commerce, until Chicago now has a harbor adequate to the demands of a great city. Its rapid increase is shown in the following census reports of its population: 1840, 4,470; 1850, 28,260; 1860, 150,000; 1870, 298,000; 1880, 596,665; 1890, 1,099,850.* In October, 1871, a terrible fire occurred which burned 18,000 houses, extending over 2100 acres; 200 persons perished and nearly 100,000 were rendered homeless. The total loss was \$190,000,000 of which about \$40,000,000 was recovered on insurance. Many insurance companies were utterly ruined. The recovery of the city from this calamity was so rapid that in three years its only evidence was in the grandeur and magnificence of its buildings over all the ragged district. In extent of district burned the Chicago fire stands first in the great conflagrations of the world.

Chicago, the pride of the central part of our nation, stands unequaled in many respects. The city is 26 miles long, greatest width 15 miles, total area 190 square miles. Lake frontage 22 miles, 2,210 miles of streets, of which 658 are improved. Fifty-nine miles are boulevards.

The longest street is Halsted street, 21½ miles in extent.

* A school census of Chicago in 1892 showed a population of more than 1,400,000, and the same census for 1896 is 1,619,226.

There are about 400 miles of street-railway tracks grid-ironing the city and furnishing transportation for upward of three-quarters of a million people.

The floating population of Chicago averages 75,000 daily; the hotel and other accommodations for transients being great enough to care for 150,000.

It is interesting to note the statistics bearing upon the shipping of Chicago. In 1891 there entered and cleared at New York 16,000 vessels, while at Chicago 20,000 vessels entered and cleared.

Practically Chicago is the terminal point of all the trunk lines of railway, north, south, east, and west, in the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

Over 90,000 miles of railroads center in Chicago at the present time. It is admitted to be the greatest railroad center in the world.

Estimates have been made showing that more passengers arrive and depart, more merchandise is received and shipped daily, than at any other point on earth.

The commerce of the city for 1891 was \$1,459,000,000, against \$20,000,000 for 1850. In the same year the amount of money paid to employes in manufacturing establishments was \$104,904,000, while the capital employed in manufacturing was \$240,302,000.

Chicago is destined to be the first city in America.

Is the largest cattle market in the world.

Is the largest lumber market in the world.

Is the largest grain market in the world.

Is the greatest stove market in the world.

Is the greatest packing center in the world.

Is the greatest railway center in the world.

Chicago has the largest stock yards in the world.

Has the finest hotel buildings in the world.

Has the largest office buildings in the world.

Has a greater area than any city in America.

Has the greatest elevator capacity in the world.

Has the largest agricultural implement manufactory in the world.

Has the largest mining machine factory in the world.

Has the largest commercial building in the world.

Has the greatest retail dry goods house in the world.

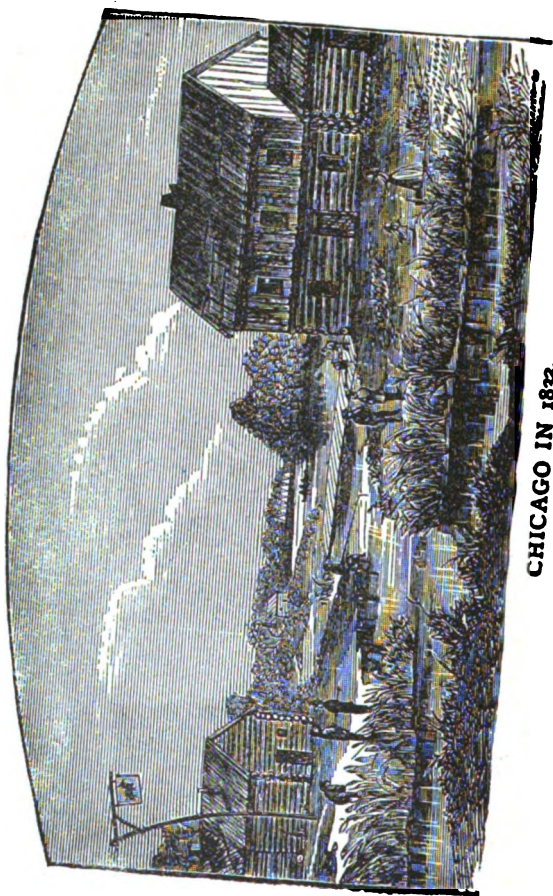
Has the largest cold storage building in the world.

Has the largest library circulation in the United States.

Has the largest percentage of bank reserves in America.

Has the most complete cable system in the world.

Has the most complete water system in the world.



CHICAGO IN 1832.

One of Chicago's Greatest Industries, The Stock Yards.

Chicago has the largest stock yards in the world. This center of the live stock trade was opened in 1858. The yards cover nearly 400 acres, affording a capacity for 55,000 cattle, 150,000 hogs, 12,000 sheep, and 2,000 horses. To those unacquainted with these sights, a visit to the stock yards is exceedingly interesting and valuable.



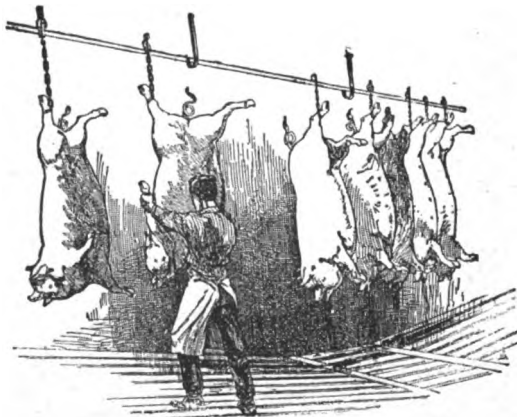
Killing Cattle at Armour's

How 5,000 Cattle are Killed and Dressed in a Day.

The killing and dressing of beef will prove of much interest to all. Usually the cattle are left in the pens adjoining the beef house twenty-four hours after having been driven from the yards. This insures an even, cool tempera-

ture. They are then driven into narrow passageways beside the pens, each compartment being only large enough to hold one animal. Over head is a plank whereon walks the grim executioner. The cattle are killed either by shooting or by the stroke of a large hammer; sometimes by means of a heavy spear the spinal column is severed at its junction with the skull. In whatever way administered, death is immediate. Directly opposite the steer, as it falls, is a sliding door which is lifted and the animal is drawn onto the dressing floor by a chain attached to the horns. He is then raised automatically, by his hind quarters and suspended from a rail, and busy hands attack him. The head is cut off and the tongue removed by one man, the feet stripped by the next, the entrails are removed by another, the hide stripped off by one, and a general finishing touch given by another.

The killing and dressing process is over. The steer still hangs suspended from the rails, on which it is now moved past the weighmaster, who records its weight and nature, and then it is slid along on the rail to the chill room. Here the air, by means of cold air machinery, is kept constantly near the freezing point. Here the beef is allowed to hang from forty to eighty hours, and then, still suspended from the rails, is run out to the loading platform, divided into fore and hind quarters, carefully inspected and transferred to the refrigerator cars standing ready to receive it, and in them distributed to all parts of the country.



Stoking Hogs at Armour's.

How Hogs are Killed and Dressed at the Rate of 16 a Minute.

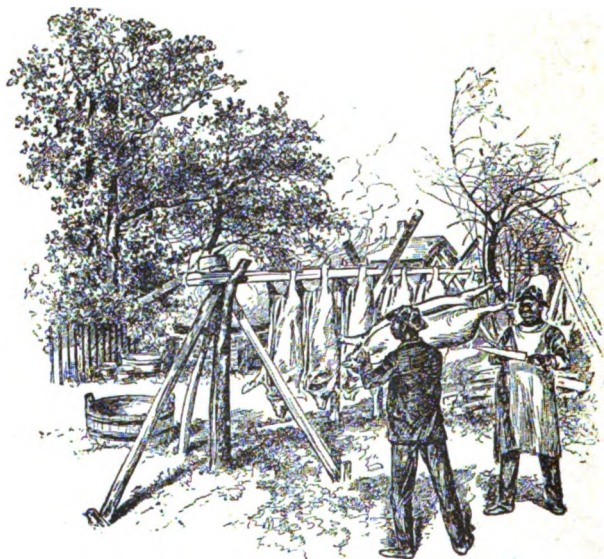
Hog-killing and the subsequent treatment of pork products offer a most interesting and, indeed, unique field of observation. It would seem as if this department had been brought to a state of absolute perfection.

The hogs are driven from the yards up elevated roadways into pens adjoining the slaughter house, and after a sufficient delay to permit them to cool off, they are driven into the building 100 or 200 at a time. Running directly over the slaughter basin, where stands the blood-bespattered butcher, are rails with wheel and pivot attachments. Nimble boys deftly pass a chain over one hind leg of each animal. The chain is quickly wound up and the hog lifted completely from the floor. The rail on which the pivot wheel rests is on an inclined plane, and in a moment the hog is brought right in front of the executioner, who with a quick and dextrous stroke administers the death thrust. The blood drains off into a reservoir below, to be afterward dried, pulverized and used for fertilizing.

The hog is then brought over an immense vat of boiling water, into which it is plunged, left there a few moments and then by means of a huge gate, connected by revolving pivots at the sides, swung onto a table. Passing through the center of the table is an endless chain with hooks attached, one of which is fastened into the nose of the hog, and by this means the animal is carried along through the scraping machine.

This machine is made of huge steel blades, mounted on inverted cylinders, and so constructed that contact is easily made with every portion of the body as it passes through. In less than ten seconds the hog, which previously presented an unclean and disheveled appearance, comes forth sleek and clean. The bristles are saved and sold to brush makers; the hair falls into a receptacle on the floor beneath, and is dried, cleaned, and readily sold to curled hair manufacturers. Emerging from the machine the hog is thoroughly washed by a strong stream of water from a hose. The gambels are then cut, and by them the hog is once more suspended from the rail.

A sharp knife in a dextrous hand disembowels him. The head is severed almost entirely from the body, the intestines are carefully separated, the leaf lard is removed at the next table, and the head is entirely taken off at the next. The tongue is removed, the cheeks are singed, and



The Old Style.

Mr. hog, minus his head, glides gracefully down the inclined plane to the hanging floor. The sanguinary nature of the operation is lost sight of in the mechanical and speedy way in which it is performed. Sixteen hogs a minute are operated upon, so that little time is left for reflection.

To the hanging floor, where the hogs are suspended in rows to cool and become firm, the descent is easy and rapid. Here the sides are severed, each still suspended from the rail, and are pushed down parallel alleyways and there left to cool. Here they are generally allowed to remain twenty-four hours. An even temperature is maintained in the cooling room all the year round. In summer vast stores of ice overhead contribute to that end. From the cooling room the sides are run on the rails to the cutting table.

Our National Greatness.

1. The Youngest but Greatest Nation of the Earth.—Of all the nations of the earth which have grown into political eminence and influence none have shown such unprecedented growth and development. Rome, in the days of her martial greatness, though the growth of centuries, never possessed the resources, the military strength, nor the national prosperity characteristic of the United States. Of all the nations of the past none have ever risen with such immense strides of industrial growth with which our country has marched to the front.

2. The Marvel of Nations.—The organization of our republic was a new departure from the old forms of government; it was an untried experiment; a government unlike any other government. Its success has surprised the world and made every European ruler tremble upon his throne. Owing to the fact that people of all nations love religious and civil liberty, our country was rapidly populated. The American people have set the example of independent self-government, and millions of the oppressed have rushed to our shores for liberty and protection, and they have not been disappointed. No other country has ever grown like it, and no other country has ever given to its people such a wide range of industrial and political opportunity. America is truly what a certain statesman has said, "a country in which every voter is a sovereign and every woman a queen."

3. The Seven Wonders of American Government:

1. No nation ever acquired so vast a territory in so quiet a manner.

2. No nation ever rose to such greatness by means so peaceable.

3. No nation ever advanced so rapidly in all that constitutes national strength and capital.

4. No nation ever rose to such a pinnacle of power in a space of time so incredibly short.

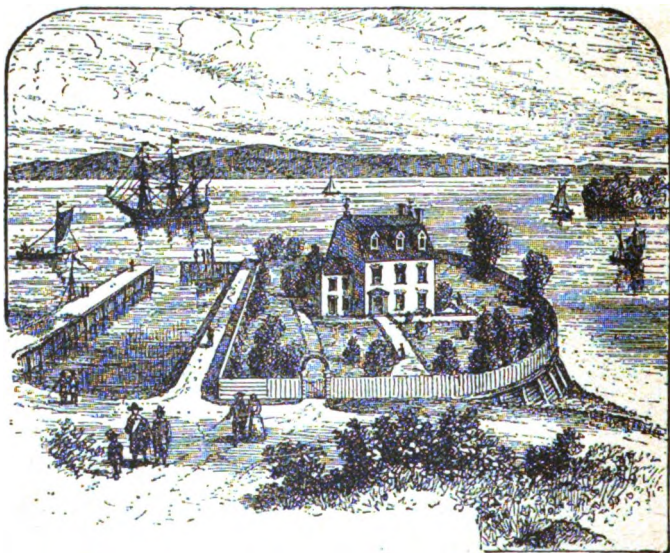
5. No nation in so limited a time has developed such unlimited resources.

6. No nation has ever existed the foundations of whose government were laid so broad and deep in the principles of justice, righteousness and truth.

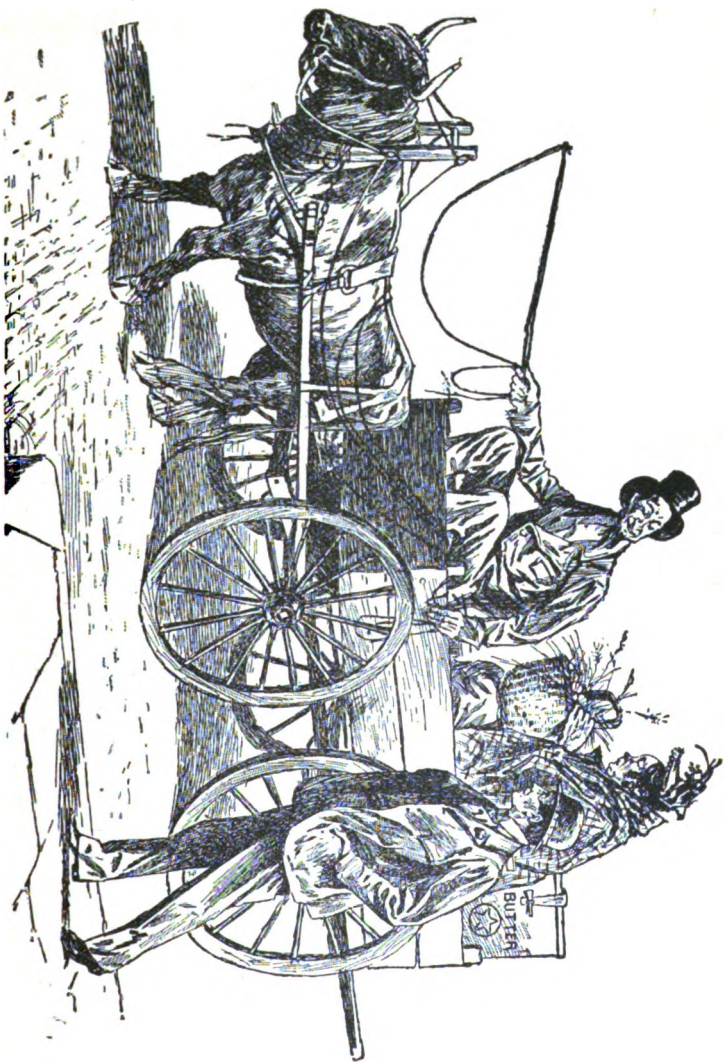
7. No nation has ever existed in which men have been left so free to work out their own fortune, and to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

4. **Our Territory.**—Our nation began with a very small settlement of earnest men, who, fleeing from the religious intolerance of the Old World, occupied a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast. They overcame famine and survived the tomahawk and scalping knife of the lurking savage; they built homes, developed farms and built cities. Now, a mighty nation with all its vast expanse of territory, stretching from ocean to ocean and from regions almost arctic on the north, to regions almost as torrid on the south, embracing more habitable land than Rome ever ruled over in her palmiest days after more than seven centuries of growth, the United States holds a position of independence and glory that is second to none among the nations of the earth.

In 1787 the Constitution was framed and subsequently ratified by the thirteen original states—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.



The First Governor's House In New York.



THE MARKET WAGON OF FIFTY YEARS AGO.

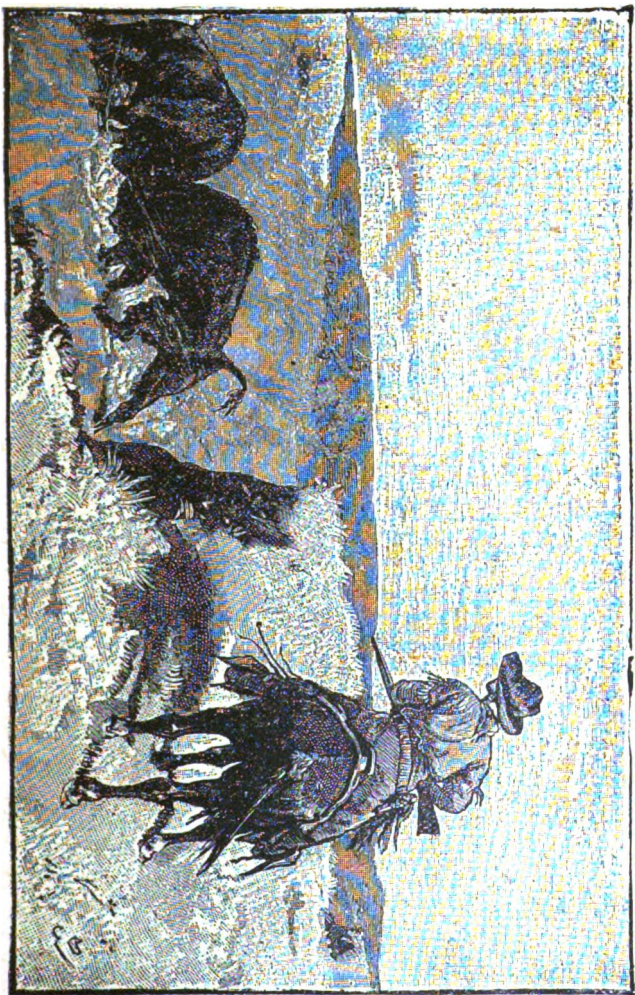
Representing the day of small things.

On the first day of March, 1789, the American ship of state was fairly launched with less than one million square miles of territory (827,844). Since then we have acquired from France, April 30, 1803, for \$15,000,000, 1,171,931 square miles; from Spain, July 17, 1821, for \$6,500,000 59,268 square miles; from annexation of Texas, March 2, 1845, 876,133 square miles; from purchase from Mexico, July 4, 1848, for \$15,000,000, 545,783 square miles; from second Mexican purchase for \$10,000,000, 45,535 square miles; from Russia, March 30, 1867 for \$7,200,000, the territory of Alaska containing 577,390 square miles. This gives a grand total of three million, six hundred three thousand, eight hundred eighty-four (3,603,884) square miles of territory, four-ninths of all North America, and more than one-fifteenth of the whole land surface of the globe. Of all nations on the globe whose laws are framed by legislative bodies elected by the people, our nation has the largest territory.

The greatness of our country is graphically pictured by Dr Strong when he says, "Lay Texas on the face of Europe, and this giant with his head resting on the mountains of Norway (directly east of the Orkney Islands), with one palm covering London, the other Warsaw, would stretch himself down across the kingdom of Denmark, across the empires of Germany and Austria, across Northern Italy, and lave his feet in the Mediterranean. Dakota might be carved into a half dozen kingdoms of Greece; or, if it were divided into twenty-six equal countries we might lay down the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah in each."

5. Our Population.—One hundred and twenty years ago the United States became an independent government with about three millions of people. To-day we have more than sixty-five millions. And yet this large and very rapidly increasing population is exceedingly small compared with the number our country is able to sustain. It is estimated that the United States can easily sustain and *enrich* 1,000,000,000. If our 65,000,000 were all placed in the state of Texas the population would not be as dense as many of the countries of Europe. Here under one flag are gathering in ever increasing numbers multitudes from the nations of the Old World who, suffering under the yoke of taxation, non-proprietorship of the soil, and poverty; and attracted by the brightening blazes of freedom, ownership of land, equal rights, free schools, plenty, and riches, find this indeed to be the land of promise to the present and succeeding generations.

The sound of this new nation has gone into all the world. It has reached the toiling millions of Europe; and they are



THE LAST OF THEIR RACE.

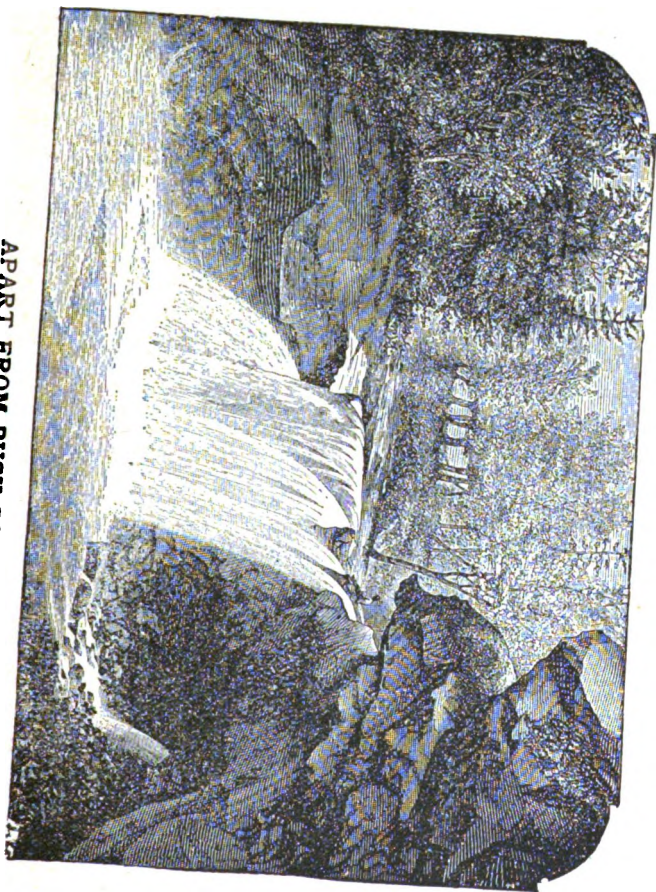
swarming to our shores to share its blessings. It has gone to the islands of the sea; they have sent their living contributions to swell its busy population. It has reached the Orient, and opened, as with a password, the gates of nations long barred against intercourse with other powers; and China and Japan, turning from their beaten track of forty centuries are looking with wonder at the prodigy arising across the Pacific to the east of them, and catching some of the impulse which this growing power is imparting to the nations of the earth.

6. **Our Scenery.**—Our flag floats over a land that is more beautiful than any other. Behold our rivers, placid and turbulent, winding through the valleys of the east and threading the prairies of the west. Look upon our mountains, presenting views of grandeur and sublimity on every hand with occasional peaks where eternal snows crown their slopes and ice jewels their brows; visit our remarkable Yosemite and Yellowstone Park, where are found some of the greatest natural wonders of the world; glance upon Niagara with its torrent of water falling over the precipice and hastening away in the distance to the mighty ocean; then turn the eye toward the magnificent prairies of the west and look on thousands of acres in rolling splendor, voiced with vegetation that blooms and blossoms like the rose, here presenting vast acres of waving grain, gleaming at setting sun in tints of gold, awaiting to-morrow's reaper, and there bringing to view immense herds of cattle that will soon be hastened eastward to supply the markets of our cities and of the world; once again, glance over mighty lakes, burdened with a commerce almost unsurpassed, pass the granite hills and mountains of the east scattered by an Omnipotent hand to beautify the landscape and pause long enough to take a bird's-eye view of the immense manufacturing interests of the Atlantic coast, where toiling multitudes are earning their daily bread and there has been exhibited to you a greater and grander variety of scenery than is found in a voyage around the globe.

7. **Our Agricultural Products.**—With the vast area of arable land much of which is exceedingly fertile there seems to be but a small percentage of food crops produced in comparison to what may be produced. We supply our people and send large quantities of cereals to European markets. The variety of climate gives the advantage of producing food plants of cold temperate to almost tropical regions. The variety of cereals, vegetables, and fruits is unsurpassed, while the quantity leads the world.

8. **Our Mineral Resources.**—Nor are our products

APART FROM BUSY SCENES.



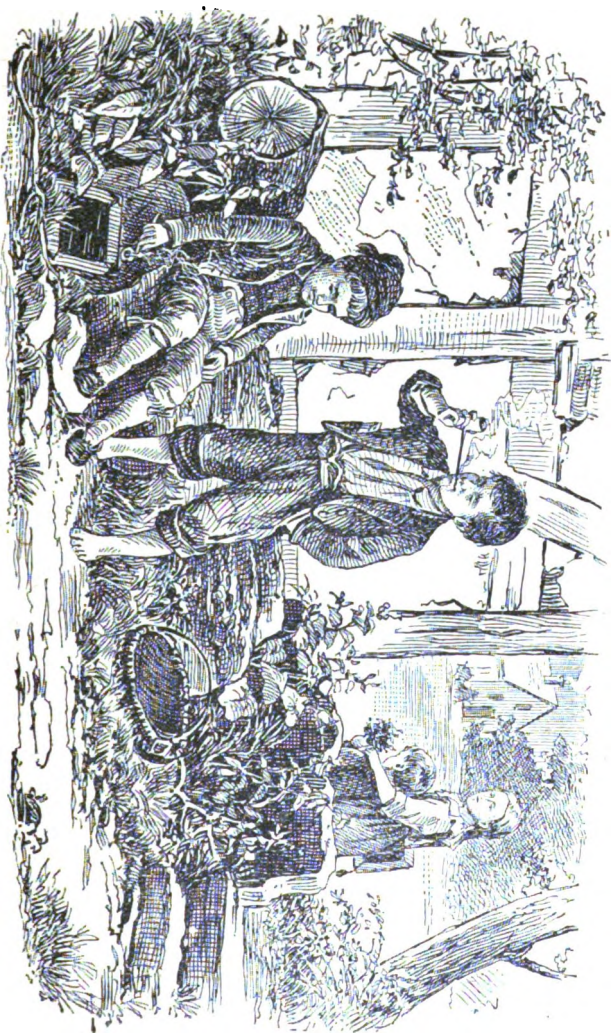
limited to our soil, for underneath the soil are found immense beds of minerals that need but be opened to be turned to wealth. Our coal fields are inexhaustible. Iron, copper, lead, zinc, and the precious metals are found in great abundance in different parts so that it is not an idle boast to say that in variety and richness of mineral resources our country is unsurpassed, yea, unequalled.

9. **Our National Wealth.**—The wealth of the United States is phenomenal. The total true valuation of all tangible property, not including bonds, notes, mortgages, stocks, securities, and corporate property, in the United States, exclusive of Alaska in the census of 1890 amounted to \$65,037,091,197 of which amount \$39,544,544,333 represents the value of real estate and improvements thereon and the remainder that of personal property, including railroads, mines and quarries. In this respect we eclipse every other nation of the world so that comparisons are made with difficulty. Our increase in wealth is without a parallel in the world's history and yet we have but begun to develop our resources.

10. **Our Constitutional Liberties.**—Our creed declares that "all men are created free and equal," that they are "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It has passed into adage that ours is a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Hence, in the United States, every man is a Cæsar, a sovereign, a king, not by decrees of men, but by letters patent from the court of Heaven, and by the authority of Almighty God. How glorious our heritage! How enviable our lot!

Once enrolled as citizens of this country, we may go forth hoping to win any position in the gift of the nation with ten thousand agencies awaiting our coming, which offer their unsought counsel and energy to urge us on our way. With us success is privileged. The humblest child from the most obscure home under the flag of our Union has an equal right to that patronage which should make him great among men. Of us Lord Bacon spoke when he said: "It remaineth for God and angels to be lookers on." For in an American race every man has a right to lead and a chance to rule. Birth and age are ruled out. Votes bring in.

The modern idea that the government exists for the individual has abolished slavery and elevated womanhood, so that at present it is difficult for us to believe that even in the early years of this century it was not an uncommon occurrence for an Englishman to sell his wife into servitude.



YOUNG AMERICA'S IDEA OF LIBERTY.

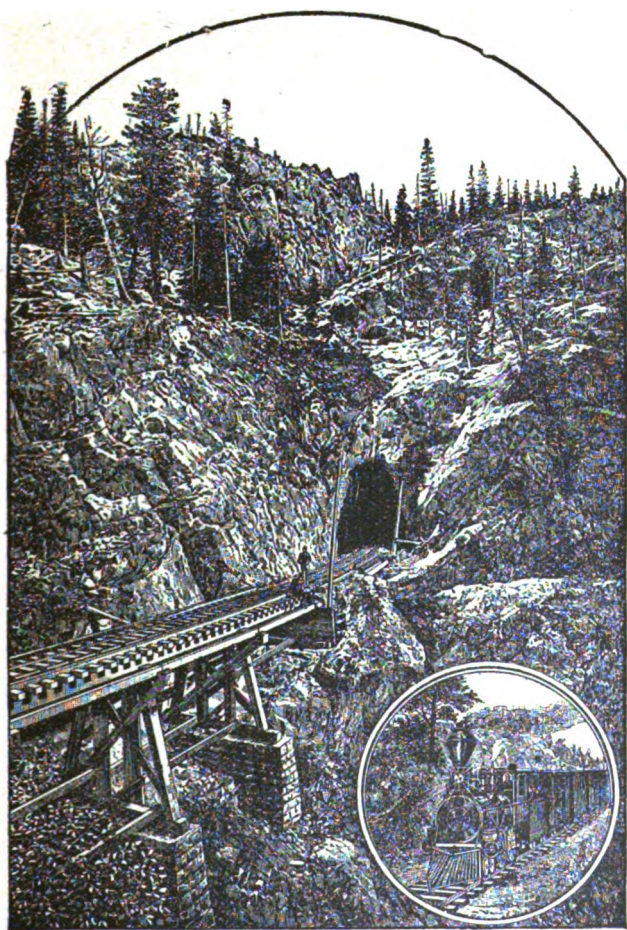
Incredulous to our age is the following taken from *The New Monthly Magazine* for September, 1814: "Shropshire.—A well-looking woman, wife of John Hall, to whom she had been married only one month, was brought by him in a halter, and sold by auction, in the market, for two and sixpence, with the addition of sixpence for the rope with which she was led. In this sale the customary market fees were charged—toll, one penny; pitching, three pence."

11. Our Industry.—This is emphatically a land of industry. Without work we cannot succeed. It matters not so much what a man does, so long as it be legitimate employment, and is well done. Here this lesson is taught as under no other form of government.

12. Our Ingenuity is the marvel of the world. We talk by lightning and walk by steam. We delve the mountains, bridge the oceans, and lasso the stars. Our patent office reports of inventions are as difficult of apprehension to foreigners as the report of John's apocalyptic visions. Tourists from the old world stand or ride a-gape and a-stare, from ocean to ocean.

Inventiveness is a national trait. At the International Electrical Exposition in Paris some years ago, *five* gold medals were given for the greatest inventions or discoveries. Only *five* of these came to the United States. Europe acknowledges that we have the best machinery and tools in the world. This also implies that we have the best mechanics. Even Herbert Spencer says, "Beyond question, in respect of mechanical appliances, the Americans are ahead of all nations." The superior ingenuity and intelligence of our mechanics command the respect of the world and place our manufacturing products foremost among its nations. Our progress in science is remarkable. Our Franklins and Morses, Sillimans and Pierces, Proctors and Edisons, are tall enough to be seen around the world. Even provincial Britain and Germany do us homage here.

13. Our Philanthropy.—Here again we challenge, not simply the intentions, not simply the admiration, but the astonishment of the oldest governments of the earth. Where is official charity so boundless, private philanthropy so open handed, and real beneficence so constant and abundant as in the land of the victorious free? What asylums for the blind, deaf, dumb, and the mind-benighted! What refuges for the aged! What orphanages, and homes, and retreats for abandoned or unfortunate youth or aged! What hospitals for the receptions of the sick and maimed! What associations for the recovery and uplifting of fallen men and women! We do not say that other nations are



MONUMENTS OF AMERICAN ENTERPRISE.



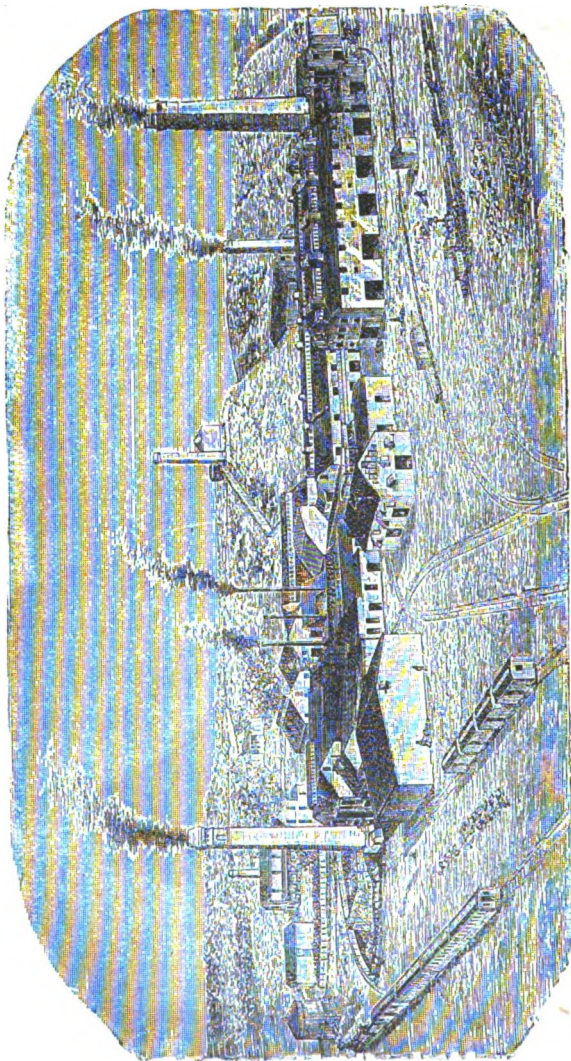
MT. HOLYOKE SEMINARY.

unphilanthropic ; but we do claim that, in open-handed and munificent philanthropy, the land of light and liberty, and the cultured heart, leads the world.

14. Our Educational and Religious Institutions.—Education and liberty go hand in hand. The benighted influences of the Christian faith, for which our fathers stood, have made us what we are. Without their influences western civilization would never have reached the pinnacle it holds to-day. Our educational and Christian institutions are the bulwarks of our nation. Whoever strikes at these strikes at our government. He who proposes to Romanize our common schools, proposes to revolutionize our institutions—to revolve them backward—Rome-ward, slaveward and deathward. He who says, "Divide the public funds that we may educate our children as a foreign, un-American, anti-republican pontiff dictates," is guilty of treason; and he who says: "Away with your American educational institutions," is an assassin in intent, and levels his sword at Columbia's heart. God preserve our educational and Christian institutions!

15. America Holds the Future.—The United States has occasion for profound gratitude. Our heritage is rich beyond measure. Where will you find under one flag so many truly great men? Where so many whose native air sweeps down from the summits of moral and intellectual Matterhorns? Where more unique, compact, full-orbed, yet disciplined, sanctified, and consecrated individualities than in "the land of the free and the home of the brave"? Let the magnificent procession pass in grand review, while the nations of the earth uncover. Well may the earth tremble and reverberate with loudest acclamations, and heaven even send down her choicest congratulation.

As goes America so goes the world in all that is vital to its moral welfare. Our inheritance in our men, our Constitution, and our institutions, how great! Only the tongue of an angel could tell it; only the pen of an archangel could record it. And yet we are only in our babyhood. What prophet can arise and tell us what the possibilities of the future are, when we shall have attained to national, educational, moral, and spiritual maturity? Let us hallow the memory of our ancestors from whom we have inherited so much. Let us cherish, with loving fidelity, and with unwavering patriotism our inheritance.



PUEBLO SMELTING AND REFINING WORKS.

Threatening Dangers.

1. Immigration.—At the beginning of 1896 more than seventeen millions (17,101,425) of foreigners had come to our shores seeking a home in the land of the free. Many of these have become citizens of moral worth, and are in perfect harmony with our free and Christian institutions. They are doing their utmost in the pulpit, in the learned professions, in the trades, in our legislative halls, and in our homes to advance and to perpetuate American interests. But even the casual observer knows that this does not include the great mass of foreigners who come to our shores not to be Americanized or Christianized. With the idea that license to do wrong is American liberty, these hordes of the criminal and baser classes of Europe are crowding our shores. America's hope lies in our power to elevate these masses in the scale of civilization and to Americanize this foreign element. An exceedingly large per cent of our criminals are foreigners. True Americans must rise and bestir themselves if we are not to be overwhelmed by these undesirable and dangerous classes.

2. Intemperance.—This is not only an evil that degrades, demoralizes, and ruins the individual, but not content with its work of death upon the individual it seeks to perpetuate its work by controlling our politics. The New York Times says: "The great underlying evil which paralyzes every effort to get good laws and to secure the enforcement of these we have, is the system of local politics which gives the saloon-keeper more power over government than is possessed by all the religious and educational institutions combined." Let the moral and religious element combine and be as interested in the question as those carrying on the work and the danger in this respect will be averted.

3. Centralization of Wealth.—The great disturbances in labor circles result largely from an unequal distribution of wealth. In Europe the aristocracy is one of birth; with us it is one of wealth. In Europe the wealth of the nation may be in the hands of the few, but in our nation where equality is the watchword, popular discontent threatens the peace and safety of the nation, whenever the conditions of society are such that the many are controlled and governed by the influences of the few of unlimited means.

The centralization of wealth in our country is strikingly shown by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, in an article in the *Forum*. It is clear that the people do not own this country, but the millionaires do. Mr. Shearman gives a list of persons and estates that are worth \$20,000,000 or more. Here is his

list, which, though its accuracy may be in doubt, certainly comes near enough to the actual figures to be interesting, to say the least :

\$150,000,000; J. J. Astor, Trinity Church.
 \$100,000,000; C. Vanderbilt, W. K. Vanderbilt, Jay Gould, Leland Stanford, J. D. Rockefeller.
 \$70,000,000; Estate of A. Packer.
 \$60,000,000; John I. Blair, Estate of Charles Crocker.
 \$50,000,000; Wm. Astor, W. W. Astor, Russell Sage, E. A. Stevens, Estate of Moses Taylor, Estate of Brown & Ives.
 \$40,000,000; P. D. Armour, F. A. Ames, Wm. Rockefeller, H. M. Flagler, Power & Weightman, Estate of P. Goelet.
 \$35,000,000; C. P. Huntington, D. O. Mills, Estates of T. A. Scott, J. W. Garrett.
 \$30,000,000; G. B. Roberts, Charles Pratt, Ross Winans, E. B. Coxe, Claus Spreckels, A. Belmont, R. J. Livingston, Fred Weyerhauser, Mrs. Mark Hopkins, Mrs. Hetty Green, Estates of S. V. Harkness, R. W. Coleman, I. M. Singer.
 \$25,000,000; A. J. Drexel, J. S. Morgan, J. P. Morgan, Marshall Field, David Dows, J. G. Fair, E. T. Gerry, Estates of Gov. Fairbanks, A. T. Stewart, A. Schermerhorn.
 \$22,500,000; O. H. Payne, Estates of F. A. Drexel, I. V. Williamson, W. F. Weld.
 \$20,000,000; F. W. Vanderbilt, Theo. Havemeyer, W. G. Warden, W. P. Thompson, Mrs. Schenley, J. B. Haggin, H. A. Hutchins, Estates of W. Sloan, E. S. Higgins, C. Tower, Wm. Thaw, Dr. Hostetter, Wm. Sharon, Peter Donohue, H. O. Havemeyer.

Mr. Shearman, in the course of his article, reaches the conclusion that 25,000 persons own one-half of the United States, and that the whole wealth of the country is practically owned by 250,000 persons, or one in sixty of the adult male population; and he predicts, from the rapid recent concentration of wealth, that, under present conditions, 50,000 persons will practically own all the wealth of the country in thirty years.

We have no titled aristocracy in this country, but we are getting an aristocracy of wealth more dangerous. The conflict between Labor and Capital is not yet near its end.

4. **Government of Large Cities.**—Our large cities are increasing at an enormous rate. At the present rate the large cities of a state will soon control the politics of a state. This is already true in some states. The dangerous classes are found in our larger cities. Here the government is the worst. In all the great American cities there is to-day as clearly defined a ruling class as in the most aristocratic countries in the world. Its members carry wards in

their pockets, make up the slates for nominating conventions, distribute offices as they bargain together, and though they toil not, neither do they spin, wear the best of raiment and spend money lavishly. They are men of power, whose favor the ambitious must court, and whose vengeance he must avoid. These men are not the wise, the learned, the good, who have earned the confidence of their fellow citizens by their pure lives, their brilliant talents, their faithfulness in public trusts, or their ability to solve the problems of government. They are rather the gambler, the saloon keeper, the men who control votes by buying and selling offices and official acts. De Tocqueville wrote more than fifty years ago, "I look upon the size of certain American cities, and especially upon the nature of their population, as a real danger which threatens the security of the Democratic republics of the New World." That danger has grown immensely during the last fifty years and is to-day more real and imminent than ever.

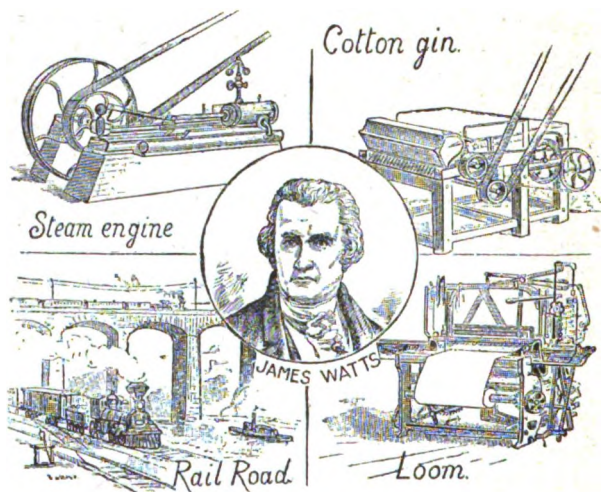
5. **A Corrupt and Ignorant Ballot.**—There is no greater or more surely destructive danger than that of the ballot in the hands of ignorant or wicked men. Here where the ballot counts for our liberties, nothing should be held more sacred. The importance of the subject demands its further consideration on a succeeding page.



**THE MAN WHO NEVER READS THE PAPERS,
But Votes His Party Ticket Straight.**

CHAPTER III.

INVENTORS AND INVENTIONS.



Great Events of the 19th Century

The chief glory of America is, that it is the country in which genius and industry find their speediest and surest reward. Fame and fortune are here open to all who are willing to work for them. Neither differences of birth nor of religion, neither class distinctions nor social prejudices can prevent the man of true merit from winning the just reward of his labors in this favored land. And yet we are not unmindful of the fact that only a few of the nation's great men are remembered in history and also of the fact that men of inventive genius were subjected to ridicule and scorn and often were compelled to labor in abject poverty and through years of disheartening hinderances before they succeeded in convincing the world of their true worth.

"The madhouse is the proper place for him," was said of Charles Goodyear who under the most trying adversity discovered the secret of controlling India rubber. Edison was dubbed "lunatic" because of his inventive genius. Indeed before most of the useful discoveries and inventions of today were perfected the public regarded them as chimerical and the product of an unbalanced mind. Their projectors were despised and abused while only the Great Eye that reads all hearts saw the anguish that wrung the hearts of these noble men, and knew the more than heroic firmness with which in the midst of their poverty and suffering, they agonized to perfect their inventions and discoveries. Some of them were not permitted to see the ultimate triumph of their labors before remorse, neglect, and insolvency hurried them to an untimely grave. Others like Dr. Wm. T. G. Morton, who discovered the use of ether, and Goodyear were harassed and their right trampled upon by a sordid and licentious class of infringers.

To know the history of these great men and their works, to comprehend in a measure the privations and hardships of this worthy class to whom our marvelous prosperity is due, to realize the success attending others, cheers and encourages every noble youth.

The Cotton Gin.

The Cotton gin is a machine for freeing cotton from its seeds, which adhere to the fibre with considerable tenacity. Originally, the cotton gin was an apparatus in which the cotton was passed between two rollers revolving in opposite directions. This, the "roller gin," is still used for ginning sea-island or black-seeded cotton, which is quite easily freed from its seeds. But green-seeded, upland or short-staple cotton, the species most generally grown, cannot be ginned by such simple means. In 1793 Mr. Eli Whitney, a native of Massachusetts, resident in Georgia, invented the saw gin, consisting of a hopper, one side of which is composed of parallel wires, between which revolve circular saws, the teeth of which drag the fiber through the wires, leaving the seed behind. This invention, which brought Mr. Whitney small profit and much litigation, has immensely increased the cotton industry of the world. The United States leads the world in inventive genius, and the vast cotton industry, which has so wonderfully cheapened the production of cotton cloth, is largely due to the pluck and perseverance of American skill.



Whitney's Cotton Gin, 1793.

Mr. Whitney was born in Massachusetts. His unusual mechanical genius aided him in overcoming the difficulties of poverty. By his own earnings he was enabled to graduate at Yale in 1792. Going south to seek employment as a teacher, his attention was called to the difficulties of cleaning the seeds from the cotton. Despite many discouraging circumstances he succeeded in inventing a machine that brought many millions of dollars to the south. Piratical infringers robbed this greatest of benefactors and he would have died in poverty had he not turned his attention to the improvement of fire arms, by means of which he acquired a fortune.

Story of the First Sewing Machine.

1. **Elias Howe, Jr.**—It would be impossible to follow Mr. Howe through all the details of his varied experience during his early years. Suffice it to say, that it was at Boston, when in his twentieth year, and after he had learned the rudiments of his trade in one of the machine shops of Lowell, and subsequently in Cambridge, working side by side with Nathaniel P. Banks, that the thought of sewing by machinery was first suggested to his mind.



**ELIAS HOWE, INVENTOR OF THE SEWING
MACHINE.**

2. **The Origin.**—In the year 1839 two men in Boston, one a mechanic and the other a capitalist, were striving to produce a knitting machine, which proved to be a task beyond their strength. When the inventor was at his wits' end his capitalist brought the machine to the shop of Ari Davis, to see if that eccentric genius could suggest the solution of the difficulty, and make the machine work. The shop, resolving itself into a committee of the whole, gathered about the knitting machine and its proprietor, and were listening to an explanation of its principle.

Among the workmen who stood by and listened to this conversation—and in this instance at least the old adage concerning listeners appears to have been reversed—says Parton, was Howe; and from that time he was in the habit, in his leisure moments, of meditating devices for sewing by machinery. Having inherited a constitution hardly strong enough for the work of a machinist, and burdened even in his opening manhood with the care of a growing family, his attention was more and more concentrated upon the project of building a machine which would furnish him a livelihood more easily earned. In December, 1845, upon a small capital provided by the generosity of an old friend, he shut himself up in a garret at Cambridge and set himself seriously to the task of inventing a sewing machine.

3. **Six Months of Incessant Labor.**—After about six months of incessant labor and reflection he produced the first machine that ever sewed a seam, and he was soon the wearer of a suit of clothes made by its assistance. This first machine, which is one of great beauty and finish, is still in existence, an object of peculiar interest to the curious who inspect it; and it will sew ten times as fast as a woman can sew by hand.

4. **Begging a Shilling.**—Having patented the machine, and finding the tailors of America averse to its introduction, he went to England, where he succeeded in selling two machines; but found so little encouragement that he would have starved to death but for the aid of friends, and he resolved to return home or at least to send his family. So pinched was he while in London, that he frequently borrowed small sums of his friend, Mr. Inglis—on one occasion a shilling, with which he bought some beans, and cooked and ate them in his own room, and through him also obtained some credit for provisions.

5. **Conspicuous Object of Public Attention.**—Arriving home after an absence of about two years, he found that the sewing machine was a conspicuous object of public attention; doubt had been succeeded by admiration of its qualities;

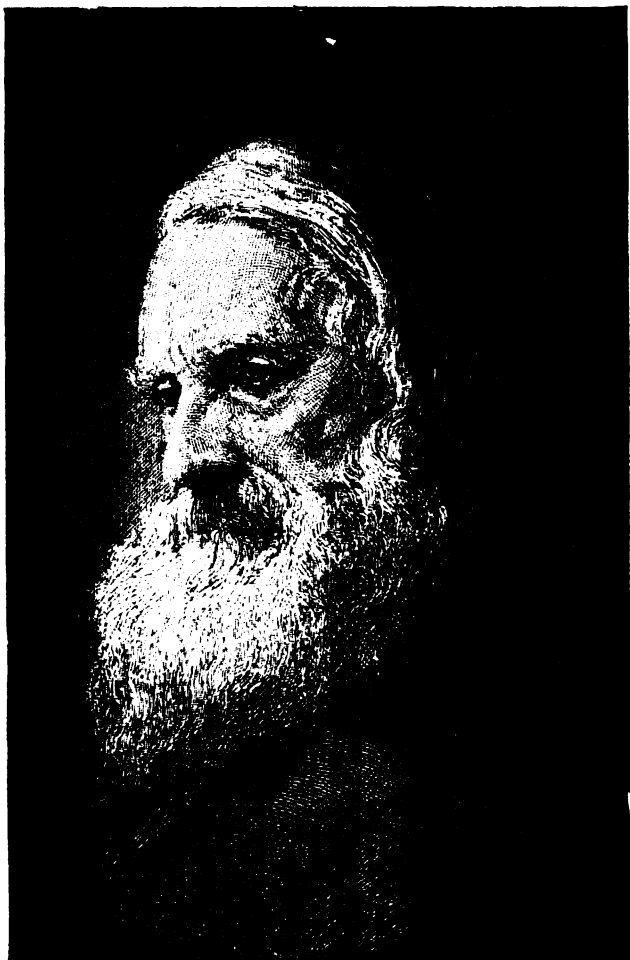
and several ingenious men having experimented, had finally improved upon the machine as originally constructed. A war of litigation ensued, and, after several years, Mr. Howe's claim to be the original inventor was legally and irreversibly established, the judge deciding that "there was no evidence which left a shadow of doubt that, for all the benefit conferred upon the public by the introduction of a sewing machine, the public are indebted to Mr. Howe." To him, therefore, all other inventors, or improvers had to pay a tribute. From being a poor man, Howe, became in a few years one of the most noted millionaires in America; and his bust executed by Ellis, shows a man of marked personal appearance and striking natural endowments.

Prof. Morse's Trial.

Prof. Morse was a man of remarkable ability and perseverance, and was largely respected in his profession as a teacher. When he took up the subject of the study of electricity, and began to discuss his discoveries with friends, they soon began to shake their heads with doubt, and question his sanity. But, like all other inventors, he was poor, and his ideas gained but little favor or consideration among his friends. He was ridiculed, denounced as a lunatic and a "crank;" but he was an American, and had inherited, with his inventive genius, the true American spirit of push and pluck. He persevered, and bravely trampled down the taunts and jeers heaped upon him, and when the grand day of triumph came all were ready to do him honor. The friends who had refused to assist him—the friends who had laughed at him and scorned his friendship—were now the first boasting his praise.

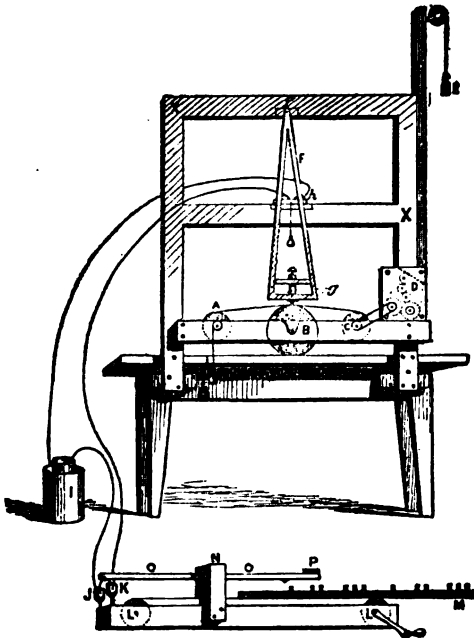
Prof. Morse went to Europe, and begged of the European authorities to consider his proposition, patent his invention, and receive the benefits of its wonder-working service. But he was turned away without encouragement; he returned home to his native land, and only at the last moment did Congress favorably consider his proposition, and finally recognized his wonderful invention which has revolutionized the business of the world.

Prof. Samuel Morse, LL. D., was the eldest son of Rev. J. Morse, D. D., born at Charlestown, in 1791. He was a graduate at Yale college. In 1810 he went to England to study painting, and in 1813 received a gold medal for his first effort in sculpture. He returned to New York in 1815 and became president of the National Academy of Design, and

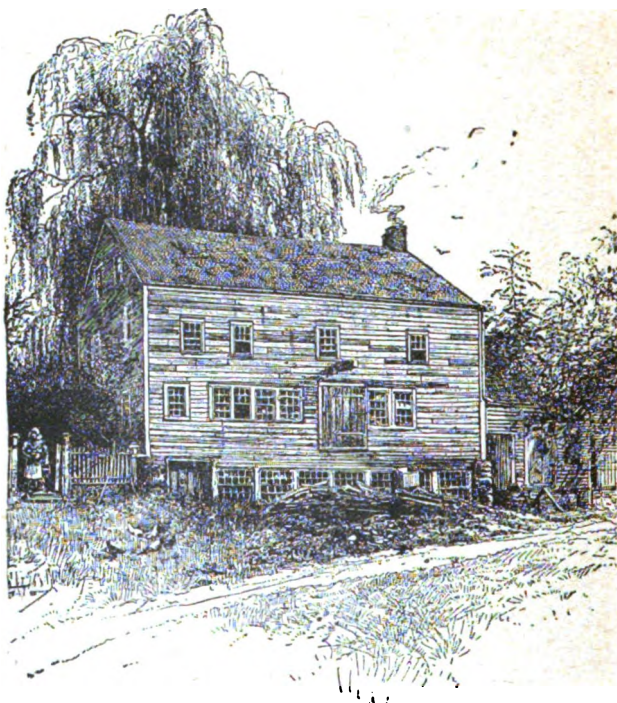


PROF. SAMUEL F. B. MORSE,
The Inventor of the Electric Telegraph.

was soon appointed professor of the arts and designs in the University of New York. He did not give his entire attention to art, but was interested in chemistry, and especially in electrical and galvanic experiments, and on a voyage from Havre to New York, in 1832, he conceived the idea of a magnetic telegraph, which he exhibited to Congress in 1837, and vainly attempted to patent in England. His claims to priority of invention over Prof. Wheatstone, in England, have been the subject of considerable controversy. He struggled on with scanty means until 1843, when, as he almost yielded to despair, Congress, at midnight, and at the last moment of the session, appropriated \$30,000 for an experimental line between Washington and Baltimore. For his important telegraphic invention, Dr. Morse was rewarded by testimonials, honorary orders of nobility and wealth. The magnitude of his discovery being acknowledged universally, several European States joined in presenting him a purse of 400,000 francs; and splendid banquets were given him in London and Paris. He died in New York, April 2, 1872.



The First Telegraph Instrument—1837.



**The House where the First Telegraph Instruments
were Made.**

Story of the First Electric Tele- graph.

Samuel F. B. Morse of New York, during a voyage home from France in 1832, conceived the idea of making signs at a distance by means of a pencil moved by an electro-magnet and a single conducting circuit, the paper being moved under the pencil by clockwork. He constructed a working model of his invention in 1836, and ex-



THE DISCOVERY OF PRINTING BY GUTENBERG, IN GERMANY, ABOUT 1438.
The Printing Press is the Greatest Safeguard of American Liberty.

hibited it to several persons the same year, but not publicly until 1837. Several years were devoted to improving the invention and endeavoring to interest the public in the project. It was not until 1844 that the first public line was completed between Washington and Baltimore (40 miles), and the first message transmitted May 27 of that year. Within a few years, however, lines were extended to the principal cities of the United States. The Morse telegraph was introduced in Germany in 1847, whence it has spread all over the Eastern hemisphere, and may now be said to be the universal telegraph of the world.

Laying of the Atlantic Cable.

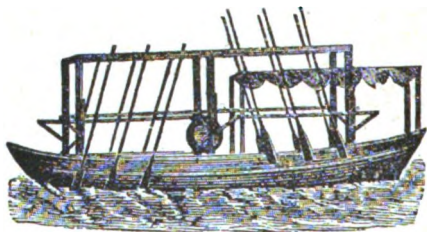
The success of this undertaking at once revived the suggestion of laying a cable across the Atlantic ocean from Ireland to Newfoundland. In 1854 the attention of Mr. Cyrus W. Field, of New York, was directed to the subject, and mainly through his efforts a company was formed, principally of English capitalists, to undertake the enterprise. The first attempt was made in August, 1857, but it was unsuccessful, the cable parting 300 miles from shore. The following year the attempt was renewed, and the enterprise successfully completed August 5, 1858. The electrical condition of the cable was faulty at first, but signals and communications were exchanged with more or less facility until September 1, when the cable failed altogether. During this time 366 messages, containing 3,942 words, were interchanged between Europe and America. Several attempts to pick up and repair the cable were made without success, and this disastrous result discouraged further enterprise in the same direction for a number of years. The experience gained, however, was of the highest value, and the success of the Malta and Alexandria (1861), Persian Gulf (1864), and other deep sea cables, led to the renewal of the attempt to cross the Atlantic in 1865, which again resulted in the breaking of the cable after 1,186 miles had been laid out. The following year, however, a new cable was successfully submerged, being landed at Newfoundland in perfect working order July 27, 1866, and the great problem was thus at last definitely solved. In September following the lost cable of 1865 was picked up and completed. From that date such rapid progress has been made in the extension of telegraphic cables that at the present time no isolated system of telegraphs is to be found throughout the world.



JUDGE STEPHEN VAIL,
The First Manufacturer and Improver of Telegraph
Instruments.

Different Submarine Lines.

The first submarine lines were simply ordinary iron wires coated with gutta-percha to a diameter of half an inch. In the cable laid between Dover and Calais in 1851, four gutta-percha coated conducting wires were wrapped with hemp and enclosed in a wire rope for protection. This general plan has been followed in all cables since constructed. The Atlantic cables are composed of a copper strand of seven wires, forming the conductor, surrounded by four layers of gutta-percha and covered by a serving of jute; outside of this is a protecting armor of ten wires of homogeneous iron, each enveloped in fine strands of manilla hemp. In shallow waters, where cables are exposed to injury from anchors, the armor is often made enormously thick and heavy, sometimes weighing as much as twenty



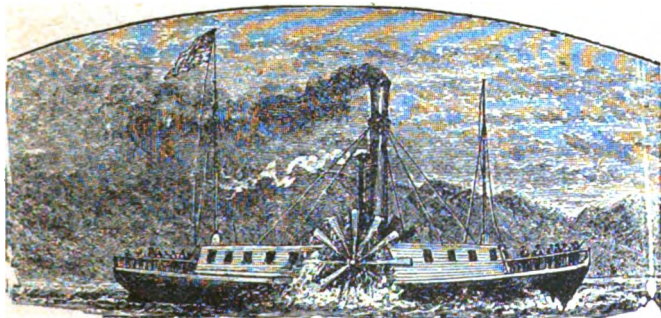
The First Steamboat in the World.

The first application of steam to navigation that showed any evidence of success was made in this country in 1788, by John Fitch, Philadelphia. The boat of which the above tons per mile. There are now more than ten cables across the Atlantic.

Printing Telegraphs.

The idea of a telegraph which should record messages in printed Roman letters is due to Alfred Vail, of New Jersey (1837). The first model of such an instrument was made by Wheatstone (1841). House's Telegraph.—This was the earliest practical printing instrument. It was introduced in 1847, and largely used in the United States until about 1860. It is simple in principle, though somewhat complicated in construction.

is a correct illustration, was 60 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 4 feet deep, and worked by paddles. The trial trip, at which the governor, and many distinguished men were present, was made over a mile course in front of Water street, Philadelphia. Although the experiment was considered successful, the project was abandoned, and it was left to Robert Fulton to practically demonstrate the theories of steam navigation.



Fulton's First Steamboat.

Fulton's First Steamboat.

1. **Robert Fulton.**—At what time Mr. Fulton's mind was first directed to steam navigation is not definitely known, but even in 1793 he had matured a plan in which he reposed great confidence. No one previous to Mr. Fulton had constructed a steamboat in any other way, or with any result, than as an unsuccessful experiment, and although many have disputed his right to the honor of the discovery, none have done so with any semblance of justice.

2. **Mr. Livingston.**—The Legislature, in March, 1798, passed an act vesting Mr. Livingston with the exclusive right and privilege of navigating all kinds of boats which might be propelled by the force of fire or steam, on all the waters within the territory or jurisdiction of the state of New York, for a term of twenty years from the passing of the act, upon condition that he should, within a twelve-month, build such a boat the mean of whose progress should not be less than four miles an hour.

3. Interesting Circumstances.—According to Mr. Livingston's own account of these most interesting circumstances, it appears that, when residing as minister plenipotentiary of the United States in France, he there met with Mr. Fulton and they formed that friendship and connection with each other to which a similarity of pursuits naturally gives birth. He communicated to Mr. Fulton his views of the importance of steamboats to their common country; informed him of what had been attempted in America, and of his resolution to resume the pursuit on his return, and advised him to turn his attention to the subject. It was agreed between them to embark in the enterprise, and immediately to make such experiments as would enable them to determine how far, in spite of former failures, the object was attainable. The principal direction of these experiments was left to Mr. Fulton.

4. Building a Boat.—On the arrival at New York of Mr. Fulton, which was not until 1806, they immediately engaged in building a boat of—as was then thought—very considerable dimensions, for navigating the Hudson. The boat named the Clermont, was of one hundred and sixty tons burden, one hundred and thirty feet long, eighteen feet wide and seven feet deep. The diameter of the paddle-wheels was fifteen feet, the boards four feet long and the drippings two feet in water. She was a queer looking craft, and, while on the stocks, excited much attention and no small amount of ridicule.

5. She Was Launched.—When she was launched and the steam engine placed in her, that also was looked upon as being of a piece with the boat built to float it. A few had seen one at work raising the Manhattan water into the reservoir back of the almshouse; but, to the people at large, the whole thing was a hidden mystery. Curiosity was greatly excited. Nor will the reader be at all surprised at the statement made by an eye-witness and narrator of these events, that when it was announced in the New York papers that the boat would start from Cortlandt street at six and a half o'clock on Friday morning, the 4th of August, and take passengers to Albany, there was a broad smile on every face, as the inquiry was made, if any one would be fool enough to go?

6. She Started.—When Friday morning came the wharves, piers, house-tops from which a sight could be obtained were filled with spectators. There were twelve berths, and every one was taken through to Albany. The fare was \$7. All the machinery was uncovered and exposed to view. The after-part was fitted up in a



ROBERT FULTON.

rough manner for passengers. The entrance into the cabin was from the stern, in front of the steersman, who worked a tiller, as in an ordinary sloop. Black smoke issued from the chimney; steam issued from every ill-fitted valve and crevice of the engine. Fulton himself was there. His remarkably clear and sharp voice was heard above the hum of the multitude and the noise of the engine; his step was confident and decided; he heeded not the fearfulness, doubts, or sarcasm of those by whom he was surrounded. The whole scene combined had in it an individuality, as well as an interest, which comes but once and is remembered forever.

Everything being ready the engine was set in motion, and the boat moved steadily but slowly from the wharf. As she turned up the river and was fairly under way there arose such a huzza as ten thousand throats never gave be-

fore. The passengers returned the cheer, but Fulton stood upon the deck, his eyes flashing with an unusual brilliancy as he surveyed the crowd. He felt that the magic wand of success was waving over him, and he was silent.

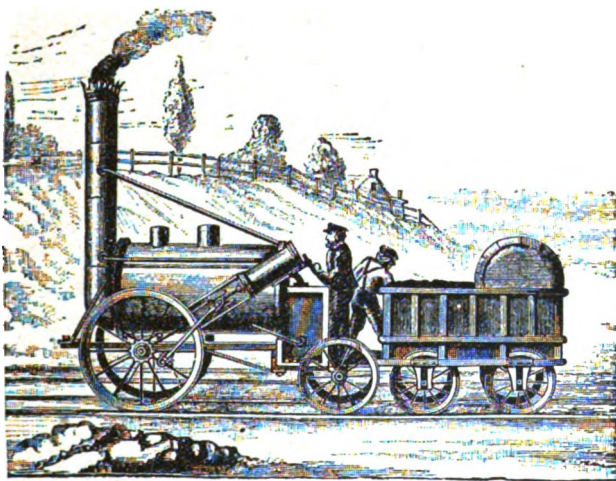
7. **The Complete Success.**—The complete success attending steam navigation on the Hudson and the neighboring waters, previous to the year 1809, turned the attention of the principal projectors to the idea of its application on the western waters; and in the month of April, of that year, Mr. Roosevelt, of New York, pursuant to an agreement with Chancellor Livingston and Mr. Fulton, visited those rivers with the purpose of forming an opinion whether they admitted of steam navigation or not. Mr. Roosevelt surveyed the rivers from Pittsburg to New Orleans, and as his report was favorable it was decided to build a boat at the former place. This was done under his direction, and in the year 1811 the first boat was launched on the waters of the Ohio. It was called the New Orleans.

8. **Rapid Growth.**—From the date of Mr. Fulton's triumph in 1807 steam navigation became a fixed fact in the United States, and went on extending with astonishing rapidity. Nor could a different result have been rationally expected in such a country as America.

Story of the First Railroad.

1. **Business Changes.**—Perhaps no invention of the present century has produced such widespread social and business changes as that of steam locomotion on railways. Not only have places that were formerly more than a day's journey from each other been made accessible in a very few hours, but the cost of traveling has been so much reduced, that the expense has in a great degree long ceased to operate as a bar to communication by railway for business or pleasure, and the usual channels of trade have been most profitably abandoned or superseded, with the greatest benefits to every interest involved.

2. **The History of Railways.**—That the history of railways shows what grand results may have their origin in small beginnings, is no less true than that the power of capital is seen in this as in all other great material enterprises. In evidence of the former truth, Dr. Lyell, mentions the interesting, though of course, well-known, fact, that, when coal was first conveyed in the neighborhood of Newcastle-on-Tyne, from the pit of the shipping place, the pack horse, carrying a burden of three hundred weight, was the only mode of transport employed as soon as roads



The First Railroad Engine—1829.

suitable for wheeled carriages were formed, carts were introduced, and this first step in mechanical appliances to facilitate transport had the effect of increasing the load which the horse was enabled to carry, from three hundred to seventeen hundred weight.

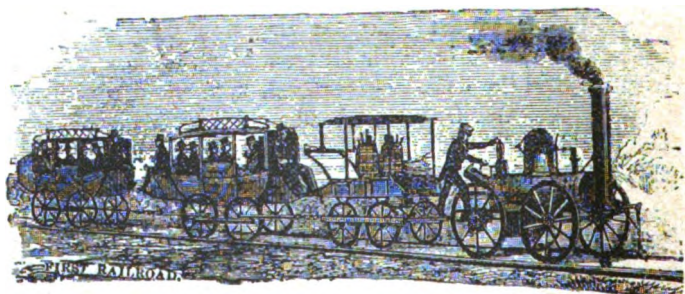
3. Wooden Bars or Rails for the Wheels.—The next improvement consisted in laying wooden bars or rails for the wheels of carts to run upon, and this was followed by the substitution of the four-wheeled wagon for the two-wheeled cart. By this further application of mechanical principles, the original horse load of three hundred weight was augmented to forty-two hundred. These were indeed important results, and they were not obtained without the shipwreck of many a fortune.

4. Attachment of Slips of Iron.—The next step of progress in this direction was the attachment of slips of iron to the wooden rails. Then came the iron tramway, the upright flange of the bar acting, in this arrangement, as a guide to keep the wheel on the track. The next advance was an important one, and consisted in transferring the

guiding flange from the rail to the wheel, an improvement which enabled cast iron edge rails to be used.

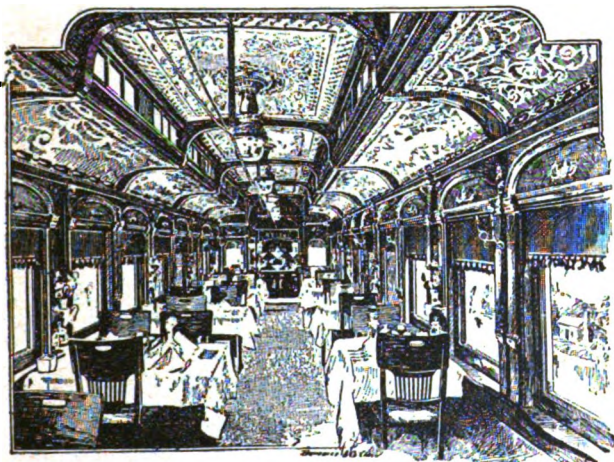
5. **Iron Rails.**—Finally, in 1820, after the lapse of many years, from the first employment of wooden bars, wrought iron rails, rolled in long lengths, and of suitable sections, were made and in time superseded all other forms of railways, coming finally to the superb steel rails of later days. Of the locomotive engine, which makes it possible to convey a load of hundreds of tons at a cost of fuel scarcely exceeding that of the provender which the original pack-horse consumed in conveying its load of three hundred pounds an equal distance, it may justly be called one of the crowning achievements of mechanical science.

6. **The Locomotive Engine.**—No sooner is a road formed fit for wheeled carriages to pass along, than the cart takes the place of the pack-saddle; no sooner is the wooden railway provided, than the wagon is substituted for the cart; no sooner is an iron railway formed, capable of carrying heavy loads, than the locomotive engine is ready to commence its wonderful career, and so on *ad infinitum*.



The First Railroad Train.

7. **The First Railroad.**—The characteristic enterprise of Americans did not fail them in this era of transformation and advancement. The first railroad attempted in the United States was a crude and temporary affair in Boston—a double-track arrangement for removing gravel from Beacon Hill, and so contrived that, while one train descended the hill with its load, the empty train would thereby be hauled up for loading. A more positive effort in this line, and more really deserving the name of railway, and



Modern Dining Car.

consequently honored by historians with the term of priority, was that constructed in Quincy, Mass., for the purpose of transporting granite from the quarry at that place to the Neponset River, a distance of about four miles; it was a single-track road, with a width of five feet between the rails, the latter being of pine, covered with oak and overlaid with thin plates of wrought iron; and the passage from the quarry to the landing, of a car carrying ten tons, with a single horse was performed in an hour. This was completed in 1827, and the affair created much interest.

8. **The First Use of a Locomotive.**—The first use of a locomotive in this country was in 1829, and was used on the railroad built by the Delaware & Hudson Company. From this fairly dates, therefore, American railway travel, with steam as the locomotive power. So popular was this means of transit, however, that, in thirty years from the time of its small beginning, more than 30,000 miles of the iron road traversed the country in different directions; this number of miles increasing to some 80,000 in 1879, with nearly 15,000 locomotives, and a capital of rising four and a half billions.



JOHN STEPHENSON.

Story of the First Street Car.

John Stephenson, who has just died at his home in New Rochelle, Westchester county, N. Y., had a career that is another instance of the business capacity, untiring energy and thrifty shrewdness of the people of the Scotch-Irish race. He was brought to this country when he was two years old, and though of foreign birth he was nevertheless in sentiment and training thoroughly American. A sketch of his life would be a history of the American street car—the first one of which he designed and built from the introduction of such carriages to the present time, when they are to be seen in every civilized and modern city of the world. And what is more, the cars actually designed and built by him are now in use wherever street railroads have been adopted.

At seventeen he was taken from school and put in a shop, but before two years had passed his father saw that his mechanical tastes and ingenuity were going to waste behind a counter, and he was taken away and apprenticed to a coachmaker whose shop was in Broome street, where, by the way, the carriage business still flourishes. When his apprenticeship was over, which was more than sixty years ago, he was invited by Abram Brower, who kept a livery stable opposite Bond street, on Broadway, to open a shop next the stables and keep his vehicles in repair. Mr. Brower at that time ran a stage line in Broadway from Bleeker street to Wall street, the fare being one shilling. As a general thing, money went further in those days than it does now, but this did not apply to stage rides.

The stages then were in the old post-coach style, the coaches resting on leather thorough-braces. The seats were crossways of the coach, and the entrances on the sides. At the outset Mr. Stephenson endeavored to improve on this old style, and shortly there appeared from his shop the first vehicle known as an "omnibus." The advantage of this style of stage was soon seen, and they were built as fast as the old coaches needed replacing. So important were these new stages considered that they were named as ships are, and the first three constructed were called Minerva, Mentor, and Forget-me-not. The custom obtained for a long time, and still prevails to some extent in southwestern cities, where the railway companies run omnibus lines for the purpose of gathering up and delivering passengers.

A year after Stephenson's independent career began, his shop and Brower's stable were destroyed by fire, and, being without insurance, his entire capital was wiped out. He soon opened another shop, and in it he built his first street car, in 1832. The New York & Harlem Railroad was chartered in 1831, and the first street-car line was opened in the Bowery in November, 1832. It ran from Prince to Fourteenth street.

The car which Stephenson designed and built was named for the president of the road, John Mason, who was also president of the now rich and famous Chemical Bank. The opening of this road was a great civic event, and the mayor and common council of the city, with the officers of the road, made the first journey over the road, riding in Stephenson's car.

The great success of the first American street car was heralded all over the United States. Orders from the Harlem company for other cars soon followed, and in the same year came orders for the new style of cars from Paterson,

N. J., Brooklyn and Jamaica, L. I., and from the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company (now the Pennsylvania Railroad Company). Orders also came from Tallahassee, Fla., and from Matanzas, Cuba. These first cars were four-wheelers, and all of them were used on railroads except in case of the Harlem company, which were used in the streets. When Ross Winans, of Baltimore, introduced the eight-wheel car Mr. Stephenson's shop in Elizabeth street was too small for the work he had to do, so in 1836 he built a new factory in Harlem, at Fourth avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-ninth street. There he did a much enlarged business and built regular railway cars of all styles. His business now rapidly outgrew his capital, and the panic of 1837 found him unprepared to meet his obligations, when his debtors, chiefly railroad companies, could not meet theirs. He was compelled to go into bankruptcy and paid 50 cents on the dollar. His Harlem property was sacrificed and his Harlem railroad stock brought only 18 per cent. of its face value.

As he was only twenty-six years old at the time of this disaster he was not discouraged. By 1843 he had collected enough money to resume business. He bought at that time the site on Twenty-seventh street, near Fourth avenue, where the Stephenson shops are still located. He paid what was then considered a high price, \$400 a lot. These lots are now worth at least \$25,000 each. That is a very handsome advance; or, as Mr. Henry George would say, a considerable "unearned increment." Though excused by law from recognizing the debts which had been compounded, Mr. Stephenson paid them all off as soon as he was able. One of his creditors, Jordan L. Mott, refused to accept payment, saying that the failure was an honest one, and had been legally and morally wiped out by the bankruptcy proceedings. Some time after this refusal Mr. Mott ordered a truck to be made. When it was finished Stephenson delivered it with the bill, endorsed, "Received payment by the bankruptcy debt; John Stephenson." Mr. Mott tried to pay for the truck, but Stephenson firmly refused, so Mr. Mott had the truck draped in gay bunting, and drove it through the streets of New York, with this legend, in large, white letters on both sides of the vehicle: "This is the way an honest bankrupt pays his debts; his name is honest John Stephenson." All of the profits of the new establishment for seven years were needed to pay these debts.

After the Harlem failure, Mr. Stephenson for several years devoted himself entirely to building coaches and omnibuses, and he continued building the latter till they

were entirely superseded in use by street cars. Street car roads were not profitable at first; but in 1852 they became more popular, and many new lines were built. In that year the Second, Third, Sixth, and Eighth avenue horse-car companies were chartered in New York, and Mr. Stephenson received the order to build the cars that were needed. From that time to the present his works have pretty nearly always been run to their full capacity, and his cars were sent all over the world.



**The Old Stage Coach that Ran from Boston to New York
in Washington's Time.**

A New Era in Traveling.

The first bicycle ever made is shown in the accompanying illustration, called the Draisine. It was not made to ride upon, but it was made to push along on foot so as to rest and steady the traveler in his travels. The bicycle, as the first steam-engine or first steamboat, has undergone a great many changes.

The first bicycle made in this country was made of two cart wheels, and resembles the modern bicycle in many particulars. It grew from that rude construction of cart wheels to the high-wheeled cushion tire; then the modern safety bicycle was invented. Some modern improvements have been made, and no doubt some will be made.



The First Bicycle. 1816.

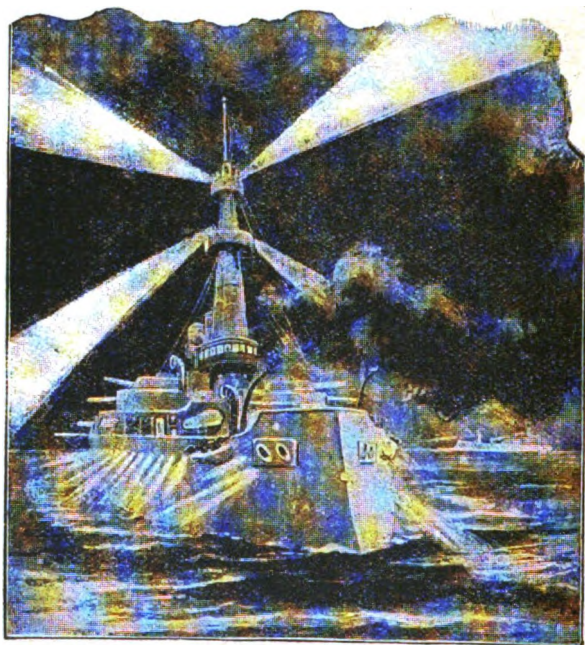
The safety bicycle is one of the revolutionizing inventions of this age, and it is in its way destined to accomplish as important social results as the electric street railway. From being exceptional, its use has become common, and from being common it now bids fair to become well-nigh universal. Where the roads justify, workingmen have begun to appreciate the fact that the wheel relieves them of the necessity of living near the shop. So great is its speed that five or even ten miles is not a prohibitive distance between home and work. The young doctor in the town, and also in the country, where the roads justify,

visits his patients on his wheel. Even the clergyman—again, where the roads justify—combines exercise and business by wheeling his round of parish calls. The wheelmen have taken the lead in demanding good country roads, and the construction of proper roads will remove one of the chief objections to country residence. Well-graded, smooth roads, properly drained and well cared for, are a public interest that demands universal attention. They are a prime factor of civilization. The churches should join in the chorus for highways made broad and smooth, in accordance with numerous Scripture injunctions. Good roads in a rural county mean better schools, better churches, better markets, higher prices for land, and better times every way. When the good roads are secured, the long-distance travel on bicycles will become something very considerable, as it already is in Great Britain. By the way, it is to be hoped that competition may avail very materially to reduce the price of bicycles. If the makers would but reduce their prices by one-half, they would so greatly multiply the army of riders who would clamor for good roads that nothing could resist the demand; and the good roads would in turn so stimulate the demand for bicycles that the manufacturers would make more money than ever.

Invention of the Electric Light.

1. American Genius in the Line of Electric Lighting.—The evident priority of American genius in the line of electric lighting, it is safe to assert; though not alone in this country, but in Europe as well, electricity has been successfully employed in lighting cities, assembly halls, factories, depots, streets, parks, lighthouses, etc., and its adaption for marine purposes, as exhibited in the accompanying illustration, is looked upon as likely to mitigate the perils of night and of fogs, and increase the facilities of ocean enterprise.

2. Mr. Edison.—The inventions claiming to realize the best results in this direction are very numerous and constantly accumulating. Acknowledging, as do all men of science, the practicability of the thing when applied on a large scale, and especially out of doors, the chief importance has seemed to be in application to indoor service. That this was accomplished by Prof. Farmer, in his home in Salem, Mass., in 1859, is abundantly demonstrated. To realize this object conveniently, agreeably, abundantly and inexpensively, many contrivances have been brought for-

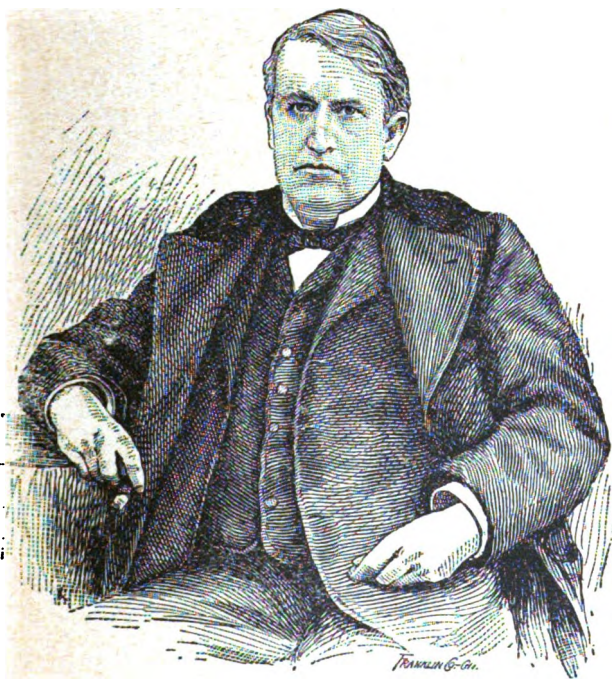


Use of Electric Lights on Warships.

ward, foremost among which may be said to be those due to the wonder-working brain of Mr. Edison.

3. **Electric Illumination.**—Already in this country and in Europe the various arrangements of electric illumination which have seemed the most practicable have been put into operation, with the highest degrees of success, and in the case of large enclosures or areas, there appears to be no doubt as to its superiority.

4. **Electric Power.**—The street cars moved by electric power have superior advantages over every other system. Electricity will soon run most of the city elevators and no doubt to a large extent displace the steam engine in the factory. The time is liable to be very near when all the passenger traffic will be transferred to the electric railway and only heavy freight carried upon our present railroads.



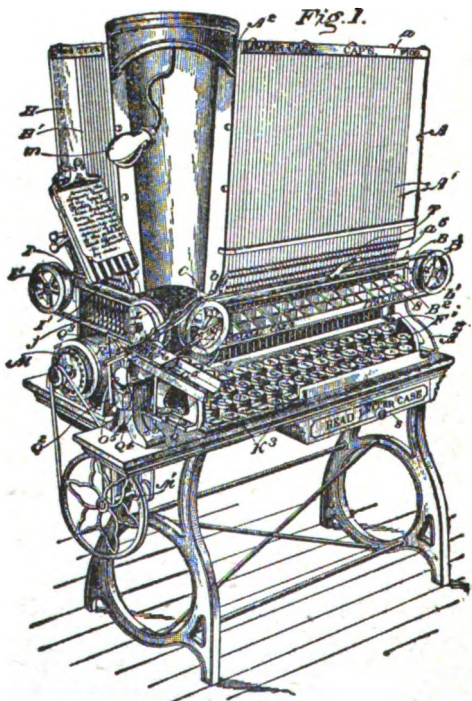
THOMAS A. EDISON.
The Greatest Inventor of the Age.

Typesetting Machines.

Although printing in some form was known to the ancients, it was left to the present century to invent the modern machinery, without which it would now seem impossible to get along.

Type-setting machines were invented as early as 1822, but the defects of these early machines were too many and too great to permit a general use of the same.

Within recent years composing machines have been constructed that have overcome the difficulties of the earlier machines. These machines, of latest invention, are being introduced everywhere in large printing establishments.



TYPE SETTING MACHINE.

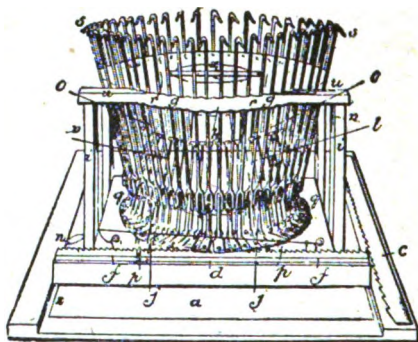
Discovery of the Telephone.

1. **Prof. A. G. Bell.**—We come now to the telephone, the patent for which wonderful device was taken out at Washington, in March, 1876, by Prof. A. G. Bell, affording fresh evidence of the versatility of American inventive genius. Though habitually sensitive to the honor and claims in this direction of its own countrymen, the London *Westminster Review* frankly admits that, of all modern inventions connected with the transmission of telegraphic signals, the telephone has deservedly excited the most widespread interest and astonishment, an instrument which undertakes not only to convey intelligible signals to great distances without the use of a battery, but to transmit in fac-simile the tones of the human voice so that the latter shall as certainly be recognized when heard over a distance of hundreds of miles as if the owner were speaking to a friend at his side in the same room. The telephone—as the tens of thousands now in use show—does all this.

2. **Marvelous Little Apparatus.**—This marvelous little apparatus produces, as already remarked, cheap and instantaneous articulate communication, that is, by direct sound, neither battery nor moving machinery, nor skill being required but merely the voice of ordinary conversation and attentive listening. It conveys the quality of the voice, so that the tone of the person speaking can be recognized at the other end of the line; it enables the manufacturer to talk with his factory superintendent, and the physician with his patient; establishes instantaneous intercourse between the main and the branch office, the home and the store, the country residence and the stable or any part of the grounds, the mouth of the mine and its remotest workings, in fact, between any two points miles apart.

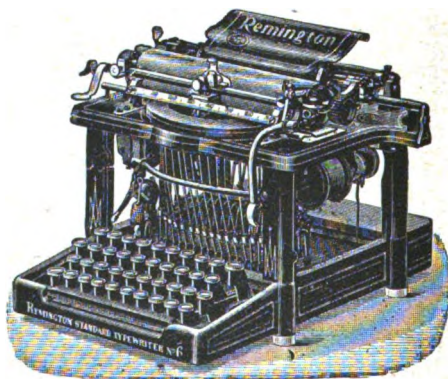
Story of the Typewriter.

1. **Ancient.**—Typewriting history may be divided into two distinct eras—ancient and modern, theoretical and practical. January 17, 1714, Mr. Henry Mill, of England, was granted a patent for a machine, but it was rude and clumsy and led to no practical result. To the next invention in the typewriter line, America is entitled. In 1829 William A. Burt, the inventor of the solar compass, was granted a patent for a writing machine called the "Typographer." The next patent was granted a Frenchman of Marseilles. This was called a Kryptographic machine.



French Typewriter of 1833.

2. Modern.—The Remington Typewriter, invented in 1867, was the first of modern machines. The first ten years were spent in seeking to set aside the prejudice against the new invention. Since then progress has been so rapid that today the typewriter is indispensable in all lines of business and all occupations where considerable writing is required.



New Remington Typewriter.

The X Rays.

1. Discovery.—The X Rays are so called for want of a better name—X standing for the unknown quantity in mathematical science. It is seldom that a discovery in science excites so wide an interest of not only scientists, but also those engaged with other pursuits. Since their discovery by Prof. Roentgen of Wurtzburg, Germany, in December, 1895, interest as to the possibilities of the practical application to surgery has been unabated. Prof. Roentgen followed in the path of Crookes, Hertz and Lenard, who by their arduous labors have brought to the notice of the world the subject of cathode rays, one of the most important in electricity.

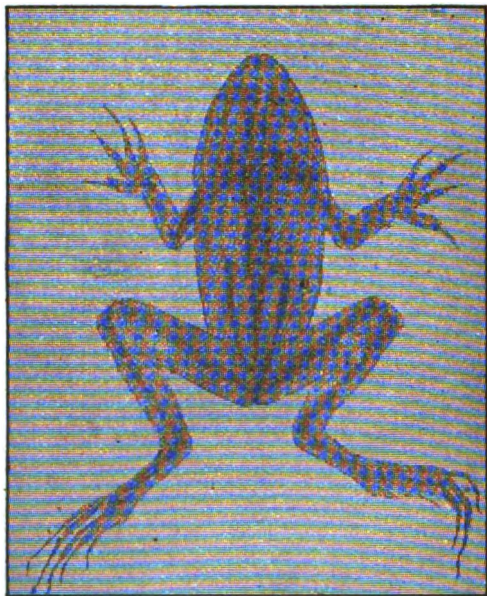
2. Definition.—Briefly defined, they are rays produced by electricity in a peculiar manner in a vacuum. If two electrified wires are placed in an air-tight glass tube, and this connected with an efficient air-pump, it will be found that, as the air is gradually withdrawn from the tube, the character of the spark produced by contact of the wires undergoes a striking change. "The narrow, tortuous, thread-like spark loses its definite outline, becomes enlarged, hazy in structure, and takes on a rosy purple tint." It continues to become more and more nebulous in appearance as exhaustion proceeds, and when the pressure within has been reduced to about one-hundredth of that of the ordinary atmosphere, the luminous haze fills the entire tube. But before this result has been reached the discharge at the negative pole, or cathode, has begun to show its individuality, its light flowing backward, so as to form an envelope around the wire, and as exhaustion proceeds, it becomes quite independent of the position of the positive wire, or anode, and extends outward in every direction, showing a characteristic bluish light. These vacuum tubes had been made for some time by German physicists and experimenters in electricity, and the striking individuality of the cathode ray was noted long before its remarkable possibilities were dreamed of.

3. Crookes' Discovery.—Mr. Crookes, a British scientist, experimented with the mercury air-pump until he reduced the pressure within the glass to no more than a few millionths of an atmosphere. This gave especial opportunity for the study of the cathode ray, and this study was pushed forward by scientists, particularly in Germany.

4. Lenard's Work.—The work of Phillip Lenard, at the University of Bonn, in 1894 and 1895, contained the origin of later discoveries concerning the remarkable photographic

power of the cathode ray. He employed the device of making a window in the vacuum tube, closed with a thin sheet of aluminum. The metal is pervious to the rays, and thus he was able to obtain them for the first time outside of the tube, and to experiment with them. He found that they penetrated many substances, even when opaque to light, and he obtained photographic pictures with them, taken through sheets of aluminum. Lenard published the first account of his experiments in January, 1894, and a description of later discoveries in October, 1895.

5. Roentgen's Further Discovery.—Professor Roentgen followed in the line of experiments indicated by Lenard, and, as his account was the first to attract public



SKELETON OF FROG.

attention, the credit of original discovery was given him. His account of his experiments, which was published in the *Journal of the Physical and Medical Society of Warburg*,

Germany, in the latter part of 1895, was admirably concise and lucid. He had proved the remarkable power of the rays to produce effects upon the photographic plate, after having passed through substances opaque to light, thus revealing the hidden structure of the substance. He had found it possible to obtain pictures of various parts of the human body, which showed the bones distinctly in their proper form amid the fainter image of the fleshy parts. These, with other results, opened a field so rich in possible results that they aroused the most intense interest throughout the civilized world.

6. Practical Use in Pathology and Surgery.—The practical use of the new discovery to benefit suffering humanity cannot yet be accurately stated, but its importance in medical practice can hardly be overestimated. While many of the supposed possibilities may be visionary, it is safe to say, "First: That deformities, injuries, and diseases of bone can be readily and accurately diagnosed by the X Rays; but that the method at present is limited in its use to the thinner parts of the body, especially to the hands, forearms, and feet.

"Second: That foreign bodies which are opaque to the rays, such as needles, bullets, and glass can be accurately located and their removal facilitated by this means.

"Third: That at present the internal organs are not accessible to examination by the X-rays because of the thickness of the body, and because some of the parts are enclosed in more or less complex bony cases."

It is hoped that with a better knowledge of the nature of the rays, and greater ability to make them more effective, many obstacles will be overcome which will make them much more widely useful than at present.

7. Humorous Inquiries.—The humorists are still manufacturing gayety out of the X rays, and most of the fun evolved is as light and inappreciable as the mysterious rays themselves. Here, however, are a couple of good ones:

Anxious Mother (to the X-ray doctor):—"Oh, doctor, we missed one of our silver spoons, and, as baby has been very cross all day, we want you to look through him and see if he has it in him!"—

Grandma:—"You'll hardly think it possible, but I can remember the time when people couldn't see through a stone wall at all!" Little Granddaughter:—"Couldn't they, really? What strange stories you do tell, grandma!"

Some time ago, Mr. Edison received at his laboratory the hollow eye-pieces of a pair of opera-glasses, with the request that he "fit them with the X-rays" and return them to the Vermont sender. Evidently the Green Mountain individual had a desire to see things.

CHAPTER IV.

OUR GOVERNMENT.

State Papers—The Declaration of Independence.

As Adopted by Congress. When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitles them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that men are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a desire to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonists; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

1. He has refused his assent to laws the most whole-some and necessary for the public good.
2. He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend them.
3. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless these people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.



4. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

5. He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

6. He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

7. He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the condition of new appropriations of lands.

8. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

9. He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

10. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people and eat out their substance.

11. He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

12. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

13. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

14. For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

15. For protecting them, by mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states.

16. For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

17. For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

18. For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.

19. For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses.

20. For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary gov-

ernment and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies.

21. For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments.

22. For suspending our own legislatures and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

23. He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

24. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

25. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

26. He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

27. He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our immigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to

the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority, of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right, ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor



AMERIGO VESPUCCI,

The man who visited America in 1499 and after whom the continent was named.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

One of the leading spirits in framing the Constitution of
the United States.

Constitution of the United States of America.

PREAMBLE.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America:

ARTICLE I.

THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

Section 1. Legislative Powers.—All Legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. House of Representatives.—The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

Qualifications of Representatives.—No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Appointment of Representatives.—Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to whole number of free persons including those bound to service for a term of years and, excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.

Number of Representatives.—The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative, and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five and Georgia three.

Vacancies.—When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Officers, How Appointed.—The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and their officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3. Senate.—The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Classification of Senators.—Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

Qualifications of Senators.—No person shall be a Senator who shall have not attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

President of the Senate.—The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Senate, a Court for Trial of Impeachments.—The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried the Chief Justice shall preside, and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in Case of Conviction.—Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States. But the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law.

Section 4. Elections of Senators and Representatives.—The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

Meeting of Congress.—The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5. Organization of Congress.—Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

Rule of Proceeding.—Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Journal of Congress.—Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Adjournment of Congress.—Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. Pay and Privileges of Members.—The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Plurality of Offices Prohibited.—No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Section 7. Revenue Bills.—All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

How Bills Become Law.—Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States. If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journals and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the Presi-



JOHN JAY,
First Chief Justice.

dent within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Approval and Veto Powers of the President.—Every order, resolution or vote to which concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the same shall take effect; shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8. Powers Vested in Congress.—The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science, and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

Powers Vested in Congress.—To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 9. Immigrants, How Admitted.—[The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Habeas Corpus.—The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

Attainder.—No Bill of Attainder or ex-post facto law shall be passed.

Direct Taxes.—No Capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

Regulations Regarding Duties.—No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

Money, How Drawn.—No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

Titles of Nobility Prohibited.—No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign state.

Section 10. Powers of States Defined.—No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligations of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

Section 1. Executive Power, in Whom Invested.—The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Electors.—Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Proceedings of Electors. Proceedings of the House of Representatives.—The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such a majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should

remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

Time of Choosing Electors.—The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Qualifications of the President.—No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

Resort in Case of Disability.—In case of removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

Salary of the President.—The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath.—Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. Duties of the President.—The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer, in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

May Make Treaties, Appoint Ambassadors, Judges, etc.—He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law, but the Congress may by law vest the appointments of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

May Fill Vacancies.—The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

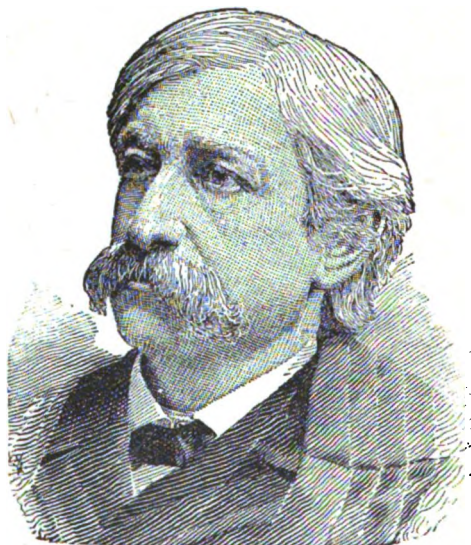
Section 3. May Convene Congress.—He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. How Officers May Be Removed.—The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

Section 1. Judicial Power, How Invested.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.



CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER.

Section 2. To What Cases It Extends.—The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens

of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.—In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Rules Respecting Trials.—The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crime shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. Treason Defined.—Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

How Punished.—The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 1. Rights of States and Records.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved and the effect thereof.

Section 2. Privileges of Citizens.—The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Executive Requisitions.—A person charged in any State with treason, felony or other crime who shall flee from justice and may be found in another State shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Law Regulating Service or Labor.—No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3. New States, How Formed and Admitted.—New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

Power of Congress.—The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. Republican Government Guaranteed.—The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

Power of Amendment.—The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

Validity of Debts Recognized.—All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

Supreme Law of the Land Defined.—This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution of Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Oath; of Whom Required and for What.—The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

Ratification.—The ratification of the convention of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Article I. Religion, Free Speech, Redress for Grievances.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article II. Bearing Arms.—A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article III. Soldiers.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV. Right of Search.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V. Capital and Criminal Arrest.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or other infamous crime, unless on a pre-

sentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Article VI. Right of Speedy Trial.—In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Article VII. Trial by Jury.—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive Bail.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines be imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

Enumeration of Rights.—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

State Rights.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

Judicial Power.—The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.

Electors in Presidential Elections.—The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballot the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the last of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this

purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

1. **Slavery Forbidden.**—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

1. **Equal Protection.**—All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. **Appointment of Representatives.**—Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such State, being of twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. **Public Official Debarred.**—No person shall be a senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or holding any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

4. **Public Debt Responsibility.**—The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any

claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

1. **Right of Suffrage.**—The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

Emancipation Proclamation by President Lincoln, January 1, 1863.*

Whereas, On the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing among other things the following, to-wit: "That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of the state, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom; that the executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the states, and parts of the states, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any state, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by the members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such states shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong counter-vailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such state, and the people thereof be not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by the virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army

*The tendency of the government of the people of the United States toward liberal sentiments and the general welfare of man is shown by the legislation, considered as a whole, of Congress and of the United States, but by no act more conspicuously than by the abolition of the slavery in the United States. Slavery was abolished by the thirteenth amendment to the constitution, but preliminary to the amendment was the Emancipation Proclamation, written and issued by President Lincoln.

and navy of the United States in the time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war-measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the states and part of states, wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to-wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre-Bonne, Lafourche, St. Marie, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anna, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued. And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare, that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states are, and henceforth shall be free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons. And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them, that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages. And I further declare and make known, that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service. And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the City of Washington this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.

WILLIAM H. STEWARD,
Secretary of State.

Departments of Our Government.

1. **Three Departments.**—The United States is the most extensive and powerful republic in the world. The general government as well as the respective state governments are republican and representative in form. There are three distinct departments in each—Legislative, Executive, Judicial.

2. **The Legislative Department.**—The Legislative de-



"MASSA SAYS WE'RE FREE."

partment or Congress consists of two distinct bodies—the Senate and the House of Representatives. Laws are enacted by the concurrent action of both these houses, and the approval of the President, by signing his name to them. When a bill has passed both houses of Congress, and been presented to the President for his signature, if he does not approve it, he may send it back to the House in which it originated, with his objections. After this, if both Houses pass the bill, by a two-thirds vote, it becomes a law without the signature of the President. If any bill is not returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after being presented to him, it becomes a law without his signature, unless Congress has sooner adjourned.

3. **The Executive Department.**—The Executive Department consists of the President and his cabinet, appointed by him with the approval of the Senate, numbering eight, one being at the head of each of the following departments of the government: The state, treasury, war, navy, post-office, justice, interior, and agriculture.

4. **The Judicial Department.**—The Judicial Department consists of the supreme court and the inferior courts. The former is composed of one chief justice, and eight associate justices. It is the tribunal in the nation, and its decisions are intended to construe the true intent and meaning of the laws of the land, and to decide appeals from inferior courts.

How Bills are Passed and Laws Made in Congress.

1. **The Framers of the Constitution.**—Most of the framers of the Constitution were elected members of the first Congress. Their wisdom and patriotism did not desert them, and every bill that became a law was the subject of active debate by all. To prevent the hasty consideration of any measure, rules were adopted by the House of Representatives and the Senate, but while it is true that many of



ADLAI STEVENSON,
Vice-President 1893-97.

these early rules still remain in the manual of each House, their force has been lost in the needs and demands of increased legislation. It is seldom, indeed, that a bill is deemed important enough to arouse general debate, and frequently bills are rushed through Congress which have been hastily considered and are possessed of little merit.

2. Over Fifteen Thousand Bills.—In the Fifty-second Congress there were over fifteen thousand bills introduced in the Senate and House. They were referred, as they were in the earlier Congresses, to the proper committees. Thousands of them were considered by these committees, and reported back to their respective Houses either favorably

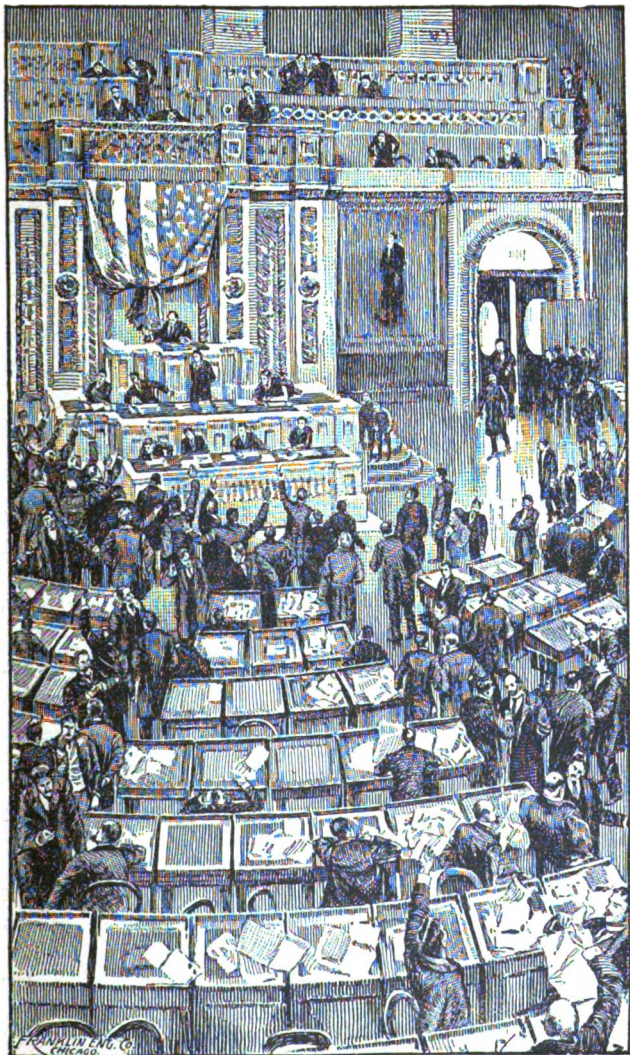
or unfavorably, and hundreds of them were passed, but of the whole number introduced only a small percentage became laws.

3. **The Course of a Bill Through Congress** is most interesting. Take, for instance, a private bill that has had its origin in the Senate (and for the purpose of illustration the Senate will do as well as the House, for in both of these bodies the system is practically the same). A private bill is, as the term indicates, for the relief of some individual, while a general or "public" measure is far-reaching in its effect. In nine cases out of ten the senator who introduces a private bill is solicited to do so by one of his constituents who wants a pension, or who desires the charge of desertion removed from his military record, or who has a claim against the government of some kind or the other. The bill may or may not be properly draughted, but whether it is or not, it is usually introduced by the senator without careful consideration.

4. **The First Reading of the Bill.**—There is a legend printed on the bill that the senator first asked and obtained consent to introduce the bill; but, in fact, the senator does nothing of the kind. He rises in his place during the morning hour, when the introduction of bills is in order, and simply reads the title of the bill and asks that it be referred to the proper committee. The title of the bill is then read by the reading clerk, and the reference is made in a perfunctory way by the President of the Senate. That is called the first reading of the bill. It is true that an objection might be raised to the first reading of the bill, but that has not been done for years, if, in fact, it was ever done.

5. **Introducing the Bill by Request.**—It is not difficult to get a bill introduced. If the senator or representative does not care to be responsible for it, he states that he introduces the bill by request, and it is so printed. There are many people, ignorant of the course of legislation, who believe that the mere introduction of the bill insures its passage, and it is a lamentable fact that there are senators and representatives who give false hope to their constituents by simply introducing the measure, sending a copy of it to the claimant, and then dismissing the whole matter from their minds.

6. **The Life of a Bill** terminates with the Congress in which it was introduced, and it is customary with some to reintroduce in the new Congress all of the old bills which were not favorably acted upon. In the Fifty-Second Congress one senator from a middle state, probably through the zeal of his private secretary, introduced an old bill four



AN EXCITING SCENE IN CONGRESS.

times. In each case the bill was referred to the same committee and was exactly for the same relief.

7. **The Old Bill** is usually accompanied by a mass of papers that have upon them the earmarks of preceding Congresses. These papers cannot be withdrawn from the files of the Senate if at any previous time the measure has been reported upon adversely. They are retained in evidence of that adverse action, but if a measure has been reported favorably the papers may be withdrawn upon a motion of a senator. Old claims may or may not be meritorious, but they are invariably regarded with suspicion as well as dislike. The multitudinous duties of a senator leave him but little time to delve into musty papers and to prepare written reports which will stand the test of the committee, let alone the Senate.

8. **To Get a Bill Out of the Committee.**—It is a hard matter to get a bill out of the committee, for several reasons. Most of the committees of the Senate are composed of nine members. These members are in turn appointed sub-committees, to which are assigned the various bills which have been referred to the whole committee. In the course of a Congress these references to the working committees of the Senate consist of from three to nine hundred measures. All of this means a great deal of exacting work. Perhaps in the mass of bills referred to an individual senator, as a sub-committee, there is a large percentage which is not deserving of a favorable recommendation. These bills are usually held back, out of consideration to the senators who have introduced them. If a report is urged upon any one of them it means unfavorable action, and that is never desired, as an unfavorable report practically kills the bill. But outside of these bills there are many meritorious measures which lie dormant until the sub-committee in charge is stirred up to make a report upon them.

9. **When a Bill Has Passed the Committee**, the one who has prepared the report submits the bill, amended or not, as the case may be. The bill is reprinted with its amendments, and is given a calendar number. The report is also printed and given the same calendar number, the calendar being a record of each of the bills in the order in which it is reported back to the Senate with the favorable or unfavorable recommendation of the committee.

At this period in the course of the passage of the bill, the claimant feels hopeful. He believes his measure is nearly a law, for if it is passed by the Senate, he will then have to get it only through the House. Perhaps he has anticipated the action of the Senate, and has had a similar bill

already introduced in the House. His efforts may have been successful in that body and the bill may be on the House calendar also.

10. Both the Senate and the House.—But the work of getting the bill on both the Senate and House calendars has been the work of months. The committees usually meet but once a week, and then remain in session not over an hour and a half. For weeks at a time no legislative business may be considered by the committee in charge of his bill, on account of nominations made by the President. However, the private claimant finds that weeks have passed into months, the long session ended, and the short one begun before he gets his bill on the calendar of each house. There is not much time for legislation of a private character in the short session, except at the beginning. The appropriation bills for carrying on the government for the ensuing fiscal year must be prepared, and, as they have the right of way over all other legislation, a private bill must take its chances. But being on both the Senate and House calendars, it has a favorable prospect.

11. When the Bill Has Passed Either the House or the Senate it becomes an act and is signed by the Clerk of the House if it be a House bill, and by the Secretary of the Senate if it be a Senate bill. The Senate bill has now become an act and is again reprinted, but still retains its identity as a Senate measure. The only changes are in the heading, which reads "in the House of Representatives," and in affixing the date of passage and the name of the Secretary of the Senate.

12. Many Bills Are Reported.—During the course of a Congress many bills are reported. The House calendar in the last days of a Congress is usually a thick, voluminous document, and it would be a matter of impossibility to dispose of all of the bills, which still remain on the calendar. It is customary, therefore, for the House to assign to the several important committees one or two days each for the consideration of the business which these committees deem most pressing. Only a few of the many bills can be selected to be pushed to a final passage. The claimant must still be on the alert to secure for his bill a place among those which shall be given this great favor. If his bill passes it goes back to the Senate, with the amendments made by the House.

13. Accepting or Rejecting the Amendments.—The Senate then has to concur in the amendments or reject them. If they are accepted and adopted by the Senate, the bill is ready for the President's signature.

14. The President's Signature.—When the act is laid before the President a few hurried words, needed to explain the purport of the bill, are spoken. If they are not satisfactory a "pocket veto" follows, which means that the President has declined to approve the law, and it therefore dies with the Congress. This frequently happens. But if the President is satisfied he affixes his signature, his executive private secretary records the number of the bill in his book and then rushes out of the doorway to appear calmly in front of the President of the Senate and announce that the President has approved Senate bill of such a number. The private bill has become a law and the claimant is at rest.

Our Congress Compared With European Parliaments.

1. Delays and Losses.—The uncertainties, delays and losses attending the law-making faculties of the United States, the Senate and House of Representatives at Washington bring home sharply and tangibly to every citizen in the land as to excite not only an extraordinary interest in regard to our congressional methods of doing business, but, also, in regard to parliamentary ways and methods in other countries. The vexed questions of "quorum," "silver," "tariff," have of late been thrust forward so prominently, and debated so bunglingly and lengthily, as to compel the attention of the public mind and to cause it to inquire, to wonder, how knotty questions of like perplexing and weighty character are dealt with when drifted into by the legislative bodies of other great countries.

2. Origin of Legislative Bodies.—The parliamentary germ is traceable to remote ages. First appearing in the rough councils of primitive tribes, it developed by slow gradations until it fairly blossomed out amidst the Greeks and Romans, and, upon their collapse, it withered and underwent decay. Parliamentarism, or the exercise of a nation's sovereignty through regularly elected bodies, is distinctly a modern outgrowth, its original home England, whence it spread to other countries, which more or less successfully adopted it. The American Congress is based essentially on the English lines, and is really an importation, pruned and trained to suit the requirements of a new world. The base upholds the superstructure, and, fortunately, in this particular instance was of a vivifying, enduring kind, and so the superstructure remains capable of improvement, which many think is now greatly needed.

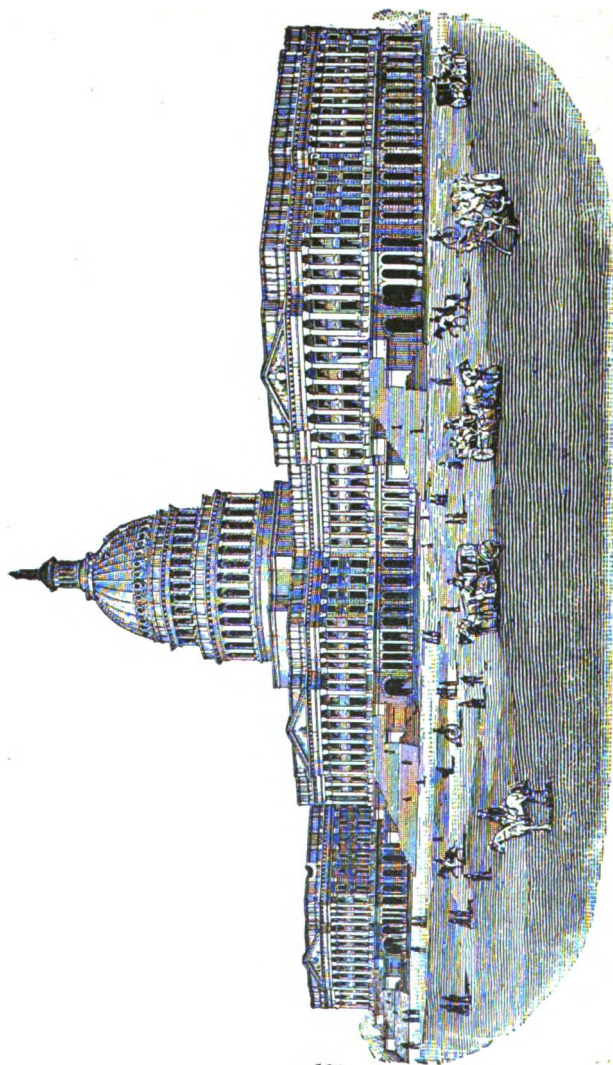
3. Written Constitution.—In considering the English system, the striking fact stands out that the most powerful and leading parliamentary nation during the last few centuries never possessed a written constitution, and that one merely fixed by practice and precedents amply sufficed for the enormous share of prosperity and freedom it enjoyed throughout that extended period.

4. The Difference Between the English and the Continental Constitutions.—The difference between them lies in the fact that the former gradually grew into life, while the latter were made to order at short notice and launched without a particle of inherent vitality, truly very readable on paper, but unsuited to long use and liable to be erased at a stroke of the pen, or rather the sword.

5. The House of Commons.—The House of Commons, elected by the people on an enlarged suffrage plan, and the House of Lords, of hereditary membership, have been very much improved as working machines within the past fifty years, although their school of oratory cannot be ranked as high as in the days of Pitt and Burke, or even so late as of Peel, Bright and Palmerton. The only notable orator left over from the old school is Mr. Gladstone, the present octogenarian, recently having retired from public office.

6. The Current Style in the Commons.—The current style is plain, concise English for the transaction of the business of the day, beyond which its statesmanship now neither looks nor is capable of looking. The body harbors no uncommon, remarkable talent; the oratory is fair, so far as it goes. There is no straining for effect, no "stump speaking" for petty outside communities; no talking to the galleries, and there is a steady sticking to practical work both in the House and in the committee rooms.

7. Improvement Over the Practice of Congressmen.—This is a decided improvement over the practice of Congressmen who, being exceedingly fond of cheap notoriety, prattle by the hour to the galleries and to the reporters, though in the meantime necessary questions be waiting consideration. Stump speaking, for the most part a mixture of screaming words and guffaws, is the besetting sin of the newly fledged delegates at Washington, eager to make themselves heard, through the press, to their local constituents. Nothing of the kind has a foothold in the English Parliament. The general public is too critical and exacting to tolerate neglect of business, which is always important because it so nearly concerns both local and national affairs, as no European Parliament is free to disregard local matters and devote itself exclusively to high national affairs, as



THE NATIONAL CAPITOL, WASHINGTON. D. C.

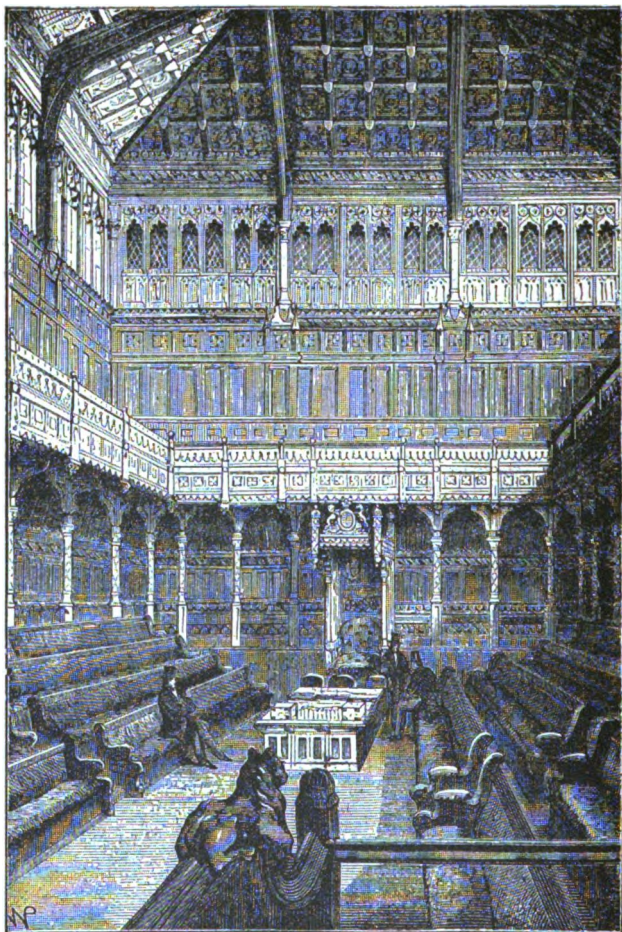
Congress is compelled to do under our mixed system. For the rest, a special public is not allowed in the galleries of the London building, as in the two Washington Houses, wherein the gallery audience greatly outnumbers the members and almost overawes them by the influence of open applause or condemnation. Here again, in this small item of gallery restriction, our Republican system might adopt, without any silly conceit, a betterment from the mother country.

8. **Filibustering.**—Filibustering is now impossible in any European Parliament, and should be equally impossible at Washington, the minority's pretenses being altogether indefensible. The French were the first to see the necessity of the cloture rule, and in this their notorious chop-logic instinct placed them on the right track for once. It is a vast improvement, a logical and indispensable step in accordance with the more rapid advances in every civilized land; it simply prevents a few, most often cranky, persons from putting obstructions on the track to stop the train of progress.

9. **The House of Lords.**—The sessions of the House of Lords, presided over by Lord Chancellor, have a strictly perfunctory character, though in picturesqueness of splendid scenery it holds first rank. The Speaker of the House of Commons is elected by the members, and has great power and many privileges. In the usual course of his presiding he takes the chair at 4 P. M., when prayers are read by a clergyman of the Established Church, and the business of the day commences. The members invariably thin out about dinner hour, which is 7, to return about 9 P. M., when the night's sitting is entered on in earnest, to last sometimes until daybreak, and always until the small hours of the morning.

10. **Parliamentary Holidays.**—The Parliamentary holidays are frequent during a session, all the more so as the ministerial tenure of office is not fixed, but is subject to the uncertainties of voting. The best debating nights are Mondays and Thursdays, and on Wednesday the House sits only from noon to 6 P. M.; of course there is no sitting on Sunday, which, however, on the continent is an important day for official work, elections being held on that day when they become necessary. Unless forty members are present at a sitting, it is agreed that "there is no House," to use a Parliamentary phrase; that is, not a sufficient quorum to transact the public business.

11. **Queer Privileges.**—All members sit on benches, and have no desks as congressmen have. The attitudes of



**THE HOUSE OF LORDS, THE LEGISLATIVE HALL
OF THE ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY.**

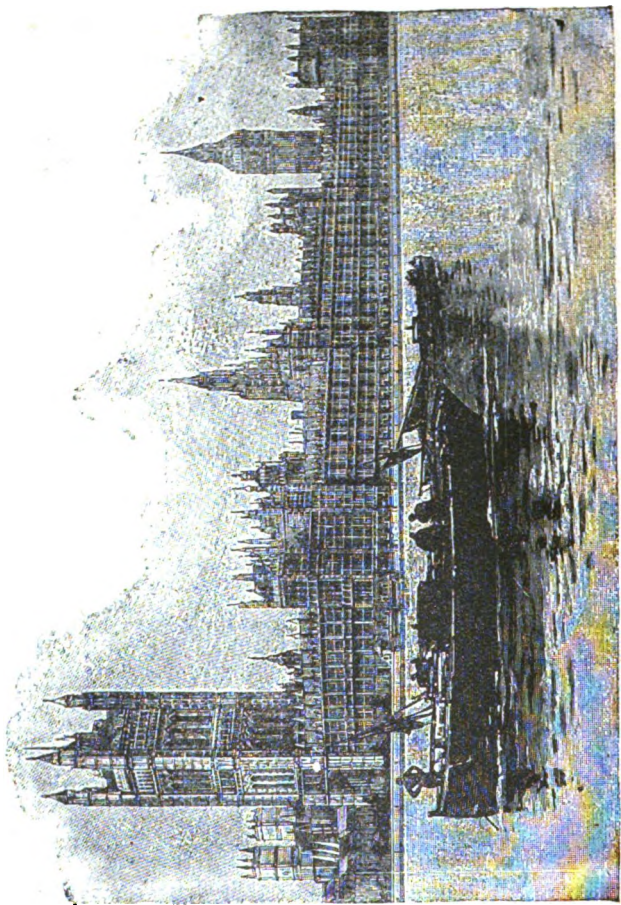
the members, when not speaking, are limited by no conventionalities, and the greatest freedom is allowed, including the practice of smoking and drinking at will, wearing hats, and a considerable amount of subdued playfulness and chaffing in the English style.

12. Ministers.—Ministers, though appointed by the Queen, have also to be members, and, after appointment, are invariably re-elected by their constituencies. The benches to the right of the Speaker's chair are the recognized seats of the government party, the heads of which, the ministers, occupy the first bench. The benches to the left of the Speaker's chair are filled by the members forming the "opposition," the leaders of which also take their seats on the first bench directly confronting the ministerial bench. The ministers, being responsible both for the making and execution of the laws, occupy the front rank, the main position in the House of Commons, of which the prime minister is the recognized leader, though the opposition has its own special leader.

13. Voting.—The process of voting is done, not by a roll call, but by the members passing into their respective "division lobby," in order to be counted; the count is what tells. The ayes, or those in favor of the ministry, retire into the lobby on the right of the Speaker's chair, and the noes, or those voting with the opposition, retire into the lobby on the left of the Speaker's chair.

14. The Queen Opens Parliament.—When the Queen opens Parliament, and she also prorogues or dissolves it when the premier authorizes, she enters the building through the "Victoria Tower," and proceeds to her "robing room," which is a spacious apartment elegantly fitted up, and only issues from it to march in solemn procession—black rod, crown, and other regal paraphernalia—through the Victoria gallery, 110 feet in length, to the House of Lords. She makes this march on foot, as it would be against English etiquette for her to be carried in a "sedia gestatoria" (portable chair), as the Pope of Rome is in St. Peter's. English etiquette is extremely exacting, so much so that Her Majesty is now more than ever addicted to shirking it. On arriving in the House of Lords, her throne awaits her to sit down on.

15. In Full Dress.—The peers in the presence of the Queen are arrayed in their robes, the members of the House of Commons are in dress suits, the ladies of the court in attendance are attired in splendid costumes, and the scene itself is eminently adapted to such a rich display, the House of Lords being sumptuously decorated in the richest Gothic style. The ceremony being ended with the reading of the royal speech, royalty goes back over the same route to its palatial home.



THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS.

16. The French Assembly.—The present Assembly, consisting of a Senate and Chamber of Deputies, was instituted by Jules Favre and Gambetta at Paris, in September, 1870. As it is a very numerous body, representing the most mercurial of nations, its debates are remarkably stormy, and the scenes enacted during debating battles are simply indescribable, eclipsing anything ever seen or heard in the other more orderly capitals. The orators speak from a special tribune, and when they get off any brilliant effort they are duly congratulated by their colleagues of their own set, for the political factions and hues are numerous, and every prominent politician has his own clique, or coterie, in addition. Wit, ridicule and sarcasm are the favorite weapons, more relied on than good judgment and sound arguments, because they can be quickly made to tell in the debating, which is invariably in a desultory, running and leaping fashion, impossible of accurate following by the reporters.

17. The Members.—The members sit on benches, and both the Senate and Chamber are directed, from elevated "tribunes," by "Presidents." A prominent feature is the abundance of official ushers and attendants, dressed up in gorgeous liveries, with chains of honor on their coat lapels, who flit frequently about the floor, the corridors and rooms, in obedience to the fickle demands made upon them.

18. Italian Parliament.—When the Italian kingdom was recently formed it simply continued the constitution and parliament which little Piedmont had adopted during the revolutionary period. On taking possession of Rome it was found to be without a Parliament building, as the popes had never had any use for this species of machinery, and so the construction of one was at once ordered. A site was picked out, where the papal prisons stood, at Monte Citorio, and they were pulled down, to the great glee of many revolutionists who had been confined in their dungeons, and a hasty building was put up for the accommodation of the members who migrated from the old capital, Florence, to the new one. Since that day the Italian Parliament has held uninterrupted sessions in the "Monte Citorio Palace." The members are generally more orderly and restrained in debate than the French deputies, but they can be, on some occasions, more noisy and furious, even unto blows and the drawing of weapons. The debates are rarely of interest, the proceedings being unenlivened by the least wit or repartee, now that the more prominent statesmen who built up the kingdom have either died or withdrawn from active politics.

19. The German Reichstag.—The Imperial House of Parliament, known as the "Reichstag," is in close proximity to the "war office," in Leipsic street, which fairly throws it into the coolest of shades and remotest of backgrounds combined; in fact, it is difficult to find where the Imperial German Parliament is at, literally as well as metaphorically, for it is a small concern dimly visible, as through a glass, darkly, in the concrete, and history has yet to record what public use it has served, what practical result given, even to the Kaiser or his family. Bismarck started the Reichstag on the well-worn road of registering the imperial will in the shape of voted laws, and the late chancellor, Count von Caprivi, has kept the gentlemen voters well up to their set tasks. All the parties, including the Socialists, are represented in it, but this is of no avail to them if free debate is useless, even when tolerated by the arbitrary ministers, who either get the certain number of votes their measures require or order a new Parliament, brand new from the polls superintended by the police and the military.

The Great Changes in Congress from the First Extra Session Called by President Adams and the Last Extra Session Called by President Cleveland.

1. Increase in Representation.—Each member of the House of Representatives is theoretically the mouthpiece of just 173,901 persons—a decided increase over the 30,000 that a representative stood for in the first Congress. The smaller number was provided for by the first Constitution, the larger is based on the last census.

2. First Extra Session.—Every member of the present Congress may reasonably be presumed to have read the proclamation calling the extra session within twenty-four hours after it was issued, although scattered over a territory nearly as large as all Europe. When the first extra session of Congress ever held was called by President John Adams in March, 1797, many a member did not even learn the fact for six weeks. Small as the country then was—some sixteen states mostly along the Atlantic seaboard—it would have been impossible for Congress to assemble in the single month allowed by President Cleveland for the legislative branch of the government to come together. Indeed, one gentleman who had raced across the country on horseback to attend



GEN. ALGER, Ex U. S. Senator.

the special session of 1797 did not reach Philadelphia--then the nation's capital--until after Congress had adjourned. In that year the Senate and House assembled in a little brick building with a few rooms in it. The White House was just a block away and likewise of brick and very modest. The reason for the special session was that war with France was imminent. It never came, no thanks to the fifth Congress. The government at that time paid no salary to the President's private secretary nor to the executive clerks, pages, or other more or less useful functionaries. When Congress opened, President Adams appeared before the Senate and House and made a speech to the members. When he had finished everybody stood up respectfully as he passed out.

3. **Last Extra Session.**—No such scene was witnessed on August 7, 1893. President Cleveland did not enter the halls of Congress. The cabinet in 1797 contained five members: Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State; Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury; James McHenry, Secretary of War; Joseph Habersham, Postmaster-General, and Charles Lee, Attorney-General. There was no Secretary of the Interior; no Secretary of the Navy, and no Secretary of Agriculture. In fact the Postmaster-General was not a member of the cabinet in 1797, and the presidential advisers were therefore but four in number when Congress first met in special session. The states were sixteen all told—the thirteen original colonies and Vermont, Kentucky and



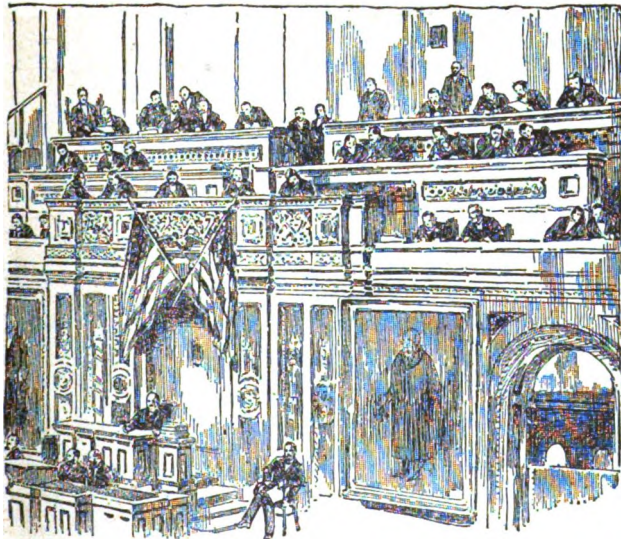
T. C. PLATT, Ex. U. S. Senator, from New York.

Tennessee. The Senate numbered thirty-two members instead of eighty-eight. There were no territories. The city of Washington did not exist. The White House of 1797 has disappeared from the face of the earth. Its site in Philadelphia is unmarked by anything but a hideous brick structure that is leased for a shirt factory and a photograph gallery. The old Independence hall still stands, but so changed in many respects that the members of the fifth Congress would not recognize it could they see the structure.

The Congress summoned by President Cleveland in special session, contained 444 members, not counting the four territorial delegates.

4. **The Fifty-fourth Congress.**—The present (December 1895-97) is the Fifty-fourth Congress. Its membership has been increased by the admission of Utah as the forty-fifth state. The Senate consisting of ninety members, is divided among the parties thus: Republicans 45, Democrats 39, Populists 6. The House consists of 357 members: Republicans 245, Democrats 105, Populists and Silver Party 7.

5. **The Disadvantages of Having a New Congress.**—The members of Congress are elected in November, but it is generally a year from the following December before they benefit the country with their law-making powers. Usually thirteen months intervene before the new Congress is called into power to act for the people. In 1892 the new Congress was overwhelmingly Democratic but the Republican Congress continued to control till April 4, until their actions and theories had been repudiated by the people. In 1894 the Democratic majority in the Congress were overthrown and a surprising Republican majority elected, yet the Democrats after being overthrown and repudiated,



ASSEMBLED IN CONGRESS.

were permitted to make laws until the first of March. When the people have lost confidence in the representatives of a party they should not be permitted to continue in power, but yield to the new elected representatives who represent the popular will of the people. The newly chosen Congress should enter at once upon work at New Year's so that the country may not be embarrassed by the privileges of an independent Congress.

CHAPTER V.

Voting, The Ballot, and Ballot Reform, The History of Voting.

1. **Origin.**—Where did the ballot come from? Like Topsy, and most other institutions, it "grewed." And in its growth it has taken such varied forms that it will make an interesting study. Of course, in the good, old times, when all civilized countries were governed by kings, there was no use for a ballot. A primitive, self-governing tribe, like those of the ancient Germans, were satisfied with *viva-voce* voting. The Jews, before they had kings, might be called a self-governing people. Strictly, however, their theory of government put everything into the hands of God, and in technical terms was a theocracy. If a public officer must be chosen, he was named by God's representative, the priest or prophet, or else lots were cast, and it was expected that God would send the right lot to the right man. It is not unlikely that such casting of lots gave the first hints of a secret ballot.

2. **The Greek Ballot.**—The ancient Greeks used the ballot in enacting laws and in courts, where there was a large number of judges. The ballot there was originally a pebble, whole for a yes vote, or pierced with a hole for a no. Sometimes there was only one stone, which was dropped into a yes or no box. Later the pebble was changed for a little bronze wheel. A few of these have been found in modern times, stamped on one side with the words, "Official ballot," and on the other with the number of the judicial district.

In electing officers the Greeks voted by show of hands. Often officers were appointed by lot. White and black beans were used for lots, and those who were understood to be hungry for office received the suggestive name of bean-eaters. The idea here was that every citizen was good enough to hold office, and this was the most impartial way

of dividing the spoils. They never used a secret ballot to vote for candidates in the modern fashion, but only to vote against them.

3. Ostracism.—If party spirit was running high, and the power of a boss was growing dangerous, a vote of exile was ordered. Each citizen wrote a name on an oyster shell or a piece of broken crockery, and put this vote secretly into the box. Any boss against whom there was a sufficient majority must leave the country for ten years.

This peculiar institution, called ostracism, is really the nearest approach the Greeks made to a modern ballot system. Ostracism went out of use because on a certain important occasion the thunderbolt failed to hit either of the prominent leaders, but struck a comparatively obscure person.

The details are not quite clear. It has been suggested, however, that the great bosses made a deal by which they were to let each other alone, and give all the votes to a troublesome third party man. This result was so unsatisfactory to the people that ostracism was given up.

4. Roman Ballot.—The ballot was introduced into Rome in the second century B. C. This was the real Australian ballot. The voter received a sort of wooden slate covered with wax on which the names of all the candidates were scratched. He made holes in the wax opposite those of his choice and dropped his tablet in the box.

After the downfall of the Roman republic, popular government took a long sleep, and there was little use for a ballot till quite modern times. Still, some of the most curiously elaborate ballot systems known were developed in the small governing bodies of the middle ages.

5. Election of a Pope.—One of these is the form for electing a pope, which has continued to our own time. All the cardinals are locked up together in a suite of rooms at the Vatican, and forbidden to have any communication with the outside world till they have made a choice. Food is passed in to them, but if the pope is not elected within a few days, they are put on prison rations by way of quickening their work.

A ballot is taken every morning, followed by another, to give an opportunity for changing votes. Each cardinal receives a printed blank. He first signs it, then folds it over so as to conceal the signature, and seals it. On the uncovered part of the paper he writes the name of his candidate. If there is not a two-thirds majority the ballots are burned, and the smoke tells the waiting crowd outside that there is no election.

The same process is repeated every evening. When any candidate gets the necessary two-thirds, the sealed signatures are opened, to make sure that no unauthorized person has voted. Then the election is publicly announced.

6. Election in Venice.—This carefulness, however, is nothing to that which was used in electing a doge of Venice. The Venetian legislators, despairing of getting an election which would not be controlled by politicians' intrigues, called in the lot as their helper.

When a doge was to be elected, the great council, of between four and five hundred members, was called together. Those below thirty years of age were shut out and the names of the rest were written on slips of paper. A small boy was then picked up on the street and brought in to draw out thirty names.

Out of these thirty, nine were chosen to go on with the election. They were to choose forty others. Four of them nominated five each, five of them four each; and each of the forty must be confirmed by a two-thirds of the nine. Out of these forty names twelve were taken by lot.

The twelve in the same way chose a new board of twenty-five, the chairman nominating three and each of the others two, a three-fourths vote being necessary to elect. Lots were again drawn for nine of the twenty-five. These nine in the same way chose forty-five others, of whom the lot picked out eleven.

These eleven, still in the same form, nominated forty-one to elect the doge. Each of these must be confirmed by a majority of the great council. Then the forty-one were locked up together, to go on with their election. While they were locked up each of them was furnished with whatever he asked for, regardless of expense. But the same must be given to each of the forty-one.

For instance, there was once an elector who wished to read in *Æsop's Fables*. He got his book, but not till all Venice had been ransacked to find the necessary forty-one copies. At another time one of them ordered a rosary. Forty-one rosaries made their appearance in due form.

This treatment was expected to make the electors so unanimous that at least twenty-five of them would agree on a doge. When this took place the rigmarole was over. An evening newspaper, trying to follow the returns in Venice at that time, would have painful times.

7 The Modern Ballot.—Coming back to the ballot as used by common mortals, and coming down to this century, the Hungarian ballot of thirty years ago is one of the most interesting. The voter had given to him a stick from four to six feet long. With this he went alone into a room where the ballot boxes were placed, each bearing the name and color of a candidate. In one of these he must place his stick. The object in having such a large ballot was to make sure that there were not two or three extra ones concealed in the citizens' pockets. But this has now been replaced by prosaic paper.

8. Present Ballot of European Nations.—In Greece at the present day the ballot is a little lead ball. There is a box for each candidate, divided into two compartments. A clerk goes from box to box with the voter, carrying a bowl full of these balls. At each box the voter takes one, puts his hand into a funnel, out of sight, and drops his ball into the yes or no compartment, making a vote for or against the candidate. If he wishes to vote for more than one party there is nothing to prevent him.

In Italy, each voter, on registering, gets a ticket of admission to the polling house. Here a stamped blue paper, with a copy of the law printed on the back, is handed to him. On this paper he must write his vote.

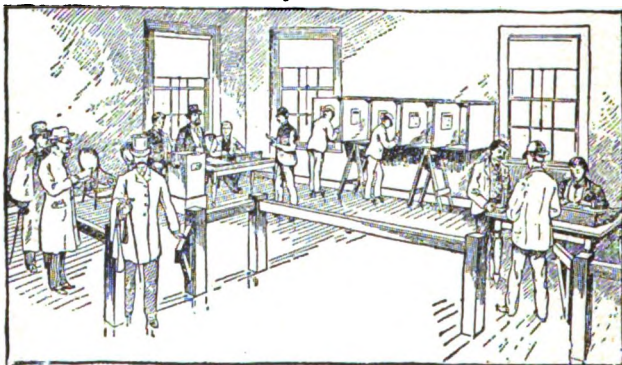
The French ballot system is much like the American system five years ago. England uses the Australian ballot.

9. The Right of Voting in the United States.—The right to vote comes from the state, and is a state gift. Naturalization is a Federal right and is a gift of the Union, not of any one state. In nearly one-half of the Union aliens (who have declared intentions) vote and have the right to vote equally with naturalized or native-born citizens. In the other half only actual citizens may vote. (See Table of Qualifications for Voting in each State on another page.) The Federal naturalization laws apply to the whole Union alike, and provide that no alien may be naturalized until after five years' residence. Even after five years' residence and due naturalization he is not entitled to vote unless the laws of the state confer the privilege upon him, and he may vote in several states six months after landing, if he has declared his intention, under United States law, to become a citizen.

The Australian Ballot.

In the consideration of suffrage and the ballot our attention is drawn most naturally to the act of voting by means of the ballot. And we will endeavor to consider it from the practical rather than from the historical point of view.

Originally, as is well known, the ballot was a ball, a shell or other symbol by which the voter indicated whether he was in favor of or against a particular proposition. That old style of voting is still popular and serviceable in clubs and societies for speedy action on simple questions. After the invention of printing came the printed paper ballot in various forms, until what is probably the most perfect form of ballot yet devised has made its appearance—the blanket ballot of the Australian system. There the names of all



Australian Ballot.

the candidates for a given office are arranged alphabetically on a single ballot and the voter is allowed to mark the name of the person for whom he votes. By the use of the Australian system of voting the danger of bribery and corruption in elections has been overcome to a considerable extent. The secrecy enforced in voting is the point of safety. By that simple device the would-be purchaser of a vote is deprived of a means of absolute certainty that the vender of a vote voted according to contract. But, notwithstanding the secrecy incident to voting, practical politicians assert that many votes are still bought. Probably the instruments now most conducive to the purchase and sale of votes are the separate party ballots and the paster ballot. But as these are already in much disfavor, it is to be hoped that they will soon disappear.

Requirements Regarding the Registration of Voters.

The registration of voters is required in the states of Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Mississippi, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Vermont, Virginia, and Wyoming and the territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah.

In Georgia registration is required in some counties by local law.

In Kentucky registration is required in cities, in Kansas in cities of the first and second class, in Iowa and Nebraska in cities of and over 2,500 inhabitants, in North Dakota in cities of over 3,000 inhabitants, in Ohio in cities of not less than 9,000 inhabitants, in Maine in all cities and in towns having 500 or more voters, in South Dakota in cities and towns having over 1,000 voters and in counties where registration has been adopted by popular vote, and in Tennessee in all counties having 50,000 inhabitants and over.

In Missouri it is required in cities of 100,000 inhabitants, and in Wisconsin in cities having 3,000 inhabitants and over. In New York it is required in all cities and in all incorporated villages of over 7,000 inhabitants. In Rhode Island non-taxpayers are required to register yearly before December 31. In Texas cities of 10,000 or over may require registration.

The registration of voters is not required in the state of Oregon. It is prohibited in Arkansas and West Virginia by constitutional provision.



Qualifications for Voting in Each State of the Union.

In all the states except Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming the right to vote at general elections is restricted to males of 21 years of age and upward. Women are entitled to vote at school elections in several states. They are entitled to full suffrage in the states of Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming.

STATES.	Requirements as to Citizenship.	PREVIOUS RESIDENCE RE- QUIRED.				Persons Excluded from Suffrage.
		In State.	In County.	In Town.	In Precinct.	
Alabama*.	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention.	1 yr....	3 mo...	30 days	30 days	Convicted of treason or other crime punishable by imprisonment, idiots, or insane.
Arkansas*.	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention.	1 yr....	6 mo...	.....	30 days	Idiots, insane, convicted of felony, until pardoned, failure to pay poll tax.
California*.	Citizen by nativity, naturalization, or treaty of Queretaro.	1 yr....	90 days	.....	30 days	Chinese, insane, embezzlers of public moneys, convicted of infamous crime.
Colorado*.	Citizen or alien who has declared intention 4 months previous to offering to vote.	6 mo...	90 days	10 days	10 days	Under guardianship, insane, idiots, or imprisoned.
Conn.*.....	Citizen of the U. S. who can read Constitution or statutes. (c)	1 yr....	.....	6 mo...	.....	Convicted of felony or theft.
Delaware*.	Citizen and paying county tax	1 yr....	1 mo...	.....	15 days	Idiots, insane, paupers, felons.
Florida....	Citizen of U. S. or alien who has declared intention and paid capitation tax 2 years.	1 yr....	6 mo...	.....	.....	Insane, under guardianship, convicted of felony, or any infamous crime.
Georgia...	Citizen of the United States who has paid all his taxes since 1877.	1 yr....	6 mo...	.....	.....	Idiots, insane, convicted of crime punishable by imprisonment, until pardoned, failure to pay taxes.
Idaho*.....	Citizen of the United States.. (c)	6 mo...	30 days	.....	.....	Chinese, Indians, Mormons, felons, insane, treason, election bribery.
Illinois*...	Citizen of the United States.. (c)	1 yr....	90 days	30 days	30 days	Convicted of crime punishable in penitentiary, until pardoned and restored to rights.
Indiana*..	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention and resided 1 year in United States and 6 months in State.	6 mo...	.....	60 days	30 days	Convicted of crime and disfranchised by judgment of the court.

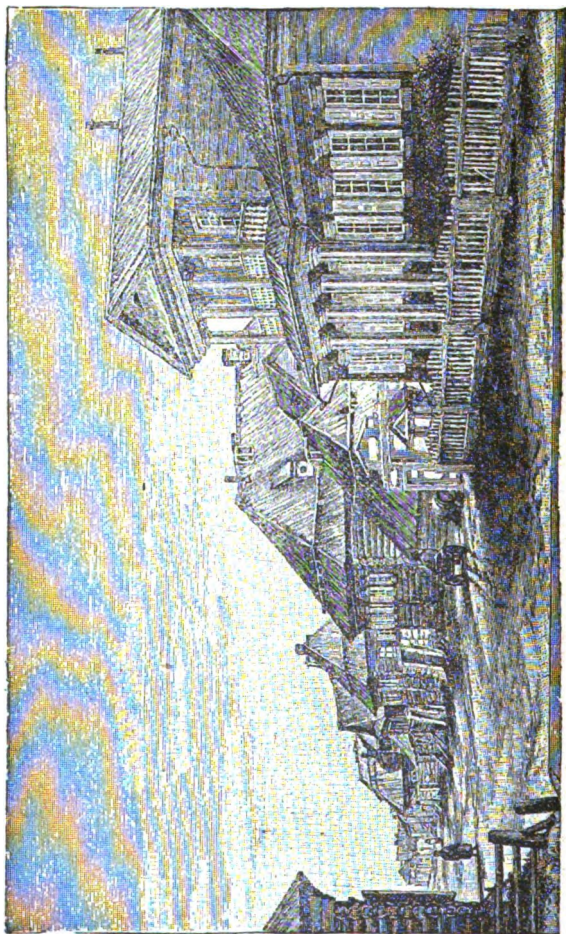
Iowa*	Citizen of the United States (c).	6 mo...	60 days	.....	.....	Idiot, insane, convicted of infamous crime, non-resident U. S. soldiers and marines.
Kansas*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention (a)	6 mo...	30 days	30 days	30 days	Idiot, insane, convicts, rebels not restored to citizenship, under guardianship, public embezzlers bribed.
Kentucky*	Citizen of the United States. (c)	1 yr....	6 mo...	60 days	60 days	Treason, felony, bribery at election, idiot, insane.
Louisiana.	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention.	1 yr....	6 mo...	.....	30 days	Idiot, insane, convicted of treason, embezzlement of public funds, all crime punishable by imprisonment in penitentiary.
Maine*	Citizen of the United States....	3 mo...	3 mo...	3 mo...	.....	Paupers, persons under guardianship, Indians not taxed, and in 1893 all new voters who cannot read the Constitution or write their own names in English.
Maryland*	Citizen of the United States....	1 yr....	6 mo...	.....	.....	A person over 21 years convicted of larceny or other infamous crime, unless pardoned, persons under guardianship, as lunatics, or non <i>compos mentis</i> .
Mass.*	Citizen who can read Constitution in English and write. (c)	1 yr....	.....	6 mo...	30 days	Paupers except honorably discharged U. S. soldiers and sailors) and persons under guardianship.
Michigan*	Citizen or inhabitant who has declared intention under U. S. laws 6 months before election and lived in State 2½ years.	3 mo...	.....	10 days	10 days	Indians, duellists and accessories.
Minn.*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention, and civilized Indians (c)	4 mo†.	10 days	10 days	10 days	Convicted of treason or felony, unless pardoned, persons under guardianship or insane.
Miss.*	Citizen of the United States who can read or understand Constitution after Jan. 1, 1892.	2 yrs...	1 yr....	1 yr....	1 yr (b)	Insane, idiots, Indians not taxed, felons, persons who have not paid taxes.
Missouri*.	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention not less than one year or more than five before offering to vote.	1 yr....	60 days	60 days	.....	U. S. soldiers and marines, paupers, criminals convicted once until pardoned, felons and violators of suffrage laws convicted a second time.

* Australian ballot law or a modification of it in force. † And one year's residence in the United States prior to voting. (a) And females, in school and city elections. (b) Clergymen are qualified after six months' residence in precinct. (c) Women can vote in school elections.

Qualifications for Voting in Each State of the Union—Continued.

In all the states except Colorado, Utah and Wyoming the right to vote at general elections is restricted to males of 21 years of age and upward. Women are entitled to vote at school elections in several states. They are entitled to full suffrage in the states of Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming.

STATES.	Requirements as to Citizenship.	PREVIOUS RESIDENCE REQUIRED.				Persons Excluded from Suffrage.
		In State.	In County.	In Town.	In Precinct.	
Montana*..	Citizen of the United States.. (c)	1 yr....	30 days	.....	.....	Indians, felons, soldiers.
Nebraska*	Citizen of U. S. or alien who has declared intention thirty days prior to election. (c)	6 mo..	40 days	10 days	10 days	Idiots, insane, convicted of treason or felony, unless pardoned, soldiers, sailors.
Nevada*..	Citizen of the United States.....	6 mo..	30 days	30 days	30 days	Idiots, insane, convicted of treason or felony, unannetted Confederates who bore arms against the United States.
N. Hamp.*	Inhabitants, native or naturalized.	6 mo..	.....	6 mo..	.....	Paupers (except honorably discharged U. S. soldiers and sailors), persons excused from paying taxes at their own request.
N. Jersey*.	Citizen of the United States.. (c)	1 yr....	5 mo..	.....	.....	Idiots, insane, paupers, persons convicted of crimes (unless pardoned), which exclude them from being witnesses.
N. York*..	Citizen who shall have been a citizen for ten days. (c)	1 yr....	4 mo..	30 days	30 days	Convicted of bribery or any infamous crime unless sentenced to reformatory or pardoned, bettors on result of any election at which they offer to vote, bribers for votes and the bribed.
N. C.....	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	90 days	.....	.....	Convicted of felony or other infamous crime, idiots, lunatics, United States soldiers and sailors, persons <i>non compos mentis</i> , and felons.
N. Dak.*..	Citizen of the United States, alien who has declared intention one year, and civilized Indian.† (c)	1 yr....	6 mo..	.....	90 days	Felony until pardoned and restored to citizenship, idiots, insane, United States soldiers and sailors.
Ohio*.....	Citizen of the United States (c).	1 yr....	30 days	.....	20 days	Idiots, insane, convicted of felony, United States soldiers and sailors, Chinese.
Oregon*..	Citizen of U. S. or alien who has declared intention one year preceding election. (c)	6 mo..	.....	.....	.....



WHERE OUR GRANDFATHERS VOTED.

Educational or Property Qualification for Voting.

1. **Qualifications.**—In some countries the electoral franchise, as the right to vote is called, is still further limited to persons who can read and write, or to persons possessing a specified amount of property, or paying a certain annual rent for the premises they occupy. Property qualifications originally existed in a number of our states, but they have generally been abolished.

2. **Educational Qualifications.**—An educational qualification is proposed in some states, and will probably be adopted in many within the next few years. Where public or free schools are made accessible to the whole population there would be no injustice in requiring that only those shall vote who can both read and write.

3. **Minors.**—Minors, or persons under age, and paupers are not allowed to vote because they are dependent; and it is presumable that they would vote under coercion, and not according to their independent judgment. Moreover, a person incapable of managing his private business ought not to have a voice or influence in public affairs. It is probable that women are denied the vote for the same reason—because the greater part of them are in a dependent condition; and the law takes no note of exceptions.

4. **General Manhood Suffrage.**—General manhood suffrage, which prevails in the United States, is required by justice, and is necessary to the perpetuation of peace in a community or nation. By his vote each man has his influence upon those affairs which are common to all citizens; if he is outvoted, he is still satisfied, because it was his hope to outvote his opponents, and it is his hope to have the majority with him at another time.

5. **Property Qualifications.**—It is sometimes urged that only those who possess property ought to be allowed to vote taxes and appropriations for public purposes. This proposition has an appearance of justice; but, besides being generally impracticable, it rests upon a wrong view of society. It supposes a degree of meanness and bad spirit in the poor and of intelligence and liberality in the wealthy, which we do not find in actual life; and it would facilitate a division of men into classes, the poor arrayed against the rich, which, if it existed, would make free government almost, if not quite, impossible.

6. **Vote Money Out of the Pockets of the Rich.**—If general manhood suffrage anywhere leads the poor to vote

money out of the pockets of the rich wastefully or for needless or corrupt purposes, the reason is that the rich have abdicated their proper place and influence in political society and have selfishly given themselves to mere money-getting or a life of pleasure, by which they endanger not only themselves, but what is of greater consequence, the stability of the community. It is an additional argument in favor of general suffrage if it compels the wealthy and intelligent as an act of unavoidable self-defense to exercise that influence in political affairs which justly and naturally belongs to them, and reminds them that their prosperous fortunes bring with them duties and responsibilities.

7. Take Notice.—Take notice that a free state or republic cannot remain prosperous if the more fortunate of its citizens withdraw themselves from political duties to devote their lives to money-getting or to pleasure. Take notice, too, that when a rich man complains that his poorer neighbors—many of whom he probably employs—vote against his interest, you will find that he conducts himself toward them selfishly, and thus loses the influence which his wealth naturally gives him if he rightly uses it.

8. Under Our System the States Have the Exclusive Power.—Under our system the states have the exclusive power of declaring, each for itself, which of the citizens shall vote; being prohibited only from excluding persons on account of race, color, or previous condition of slavery. They cannot, however, give the franchise indiscriminately, for the federal government has the exclusive authority to declare who shall be citizens. Thus no state could allow Chinese* to vote, because these people are not capable, under the laws of the federal government, of becoming citizens. But any state may adopt an educational or property franchise or condition, only making it equally applicable to all citizens.

* This is still a disputed question. Chinamen have been admitted to naturalization privileges. Although there is no definite law against it, yet no state would be likely to attempt to pass a law granting citizenship to this despised race, knowing that such a statute would be contested in the courts.

The Ballot Reform Movement.

The following is a list of the states and territories which have adopted new ballot laws based more or less on the Australian system:

1888—Kentucky (applying only to Louisville), Massachusetts.

1889—Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Wisconsin.

1890—Maryland (applying to Baltimore), New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Vermont, Washington, Wyoming.

1891—Arkansas, California, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Maine, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Oregon, West Virginia, Colorado.

1892—Iowa, Maryland (whole state), Mississippi.

1893—Alabama, Kansas, Kentucky, Nevada, Texas, and in Florida for the city of Jacksonville.

1894—Virginia.

The only states in which some form of reformed balloting does not yet exist are: Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina.

Cumulative Voting.

1. **Representation of Minority.**—"The majority shall rule," is a principle accepted by all persons devoted to free popular government. But shall a minority have no representation? It seems to be the dictate of good sense and of justice that when any society or body is represented in government, provision should be made to represent its parts or divisions, as this is absolutely necessary to the representation of the whole. A representative house stands in the place of its constituency and should embody all the essential elements of the constituent mass. But where the will of the majority is regarded as if it were the whole constituency, the majority gets more than its share of representative power. Elections on this plan, in which the motive is to grasp unjust power, become costly and corrupt. Several plans of minority representation have been tried in England and United States and have proved satisfactory.

2. **The Limited Vote.**—This plan has been tried in cer-

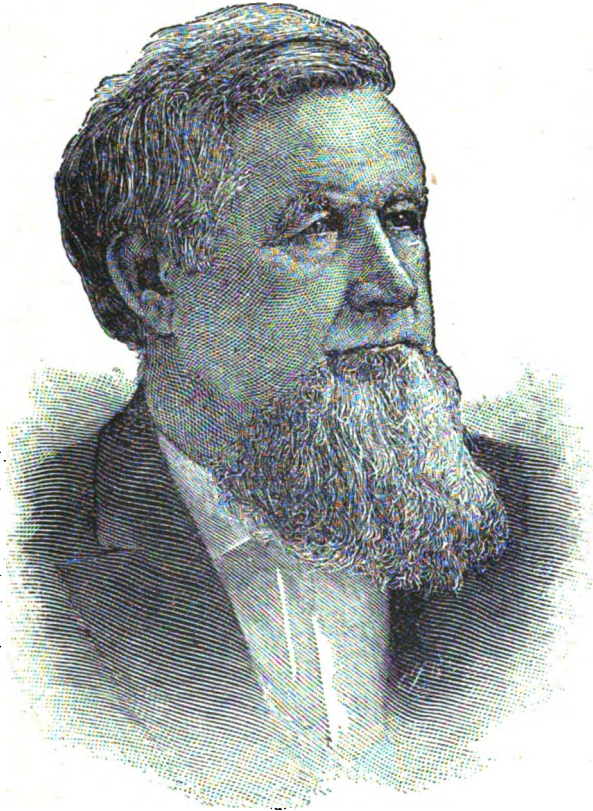
tain cases and certain districts in Pennsylvania, New York and Illinois. According to this plan the voter is forbidden to vote for the whole number to be chosen, but is authorized to give votes singly to each of a less number or a single vote to one. By an amendment to the constitution of New York proposed by the convention of 1867 the court of appeals of the state was to consist of a chief judge and six associate judges, each voter to vote for the chief and for four only of the associate judges. By means of this arrangement the political minority of the state, at the first election under the amendment secured two of the six associate judges of the court. This system is used in the election of judges in Cook county, including Chicago, and in localities in Pennsylvania and New York in the reelection of various officers.

3. The Cumulative Plan.—This is considered the better system. In the Illinois constitution of 1870 we have it in an important application, exhibiting all its characteristic features. The section referred to is as follows: "The house of representatives shall consist of three times the number of the members of the senate and the term of office shall be two years. Three representatives shall be elected in each senatorial district, at the general election in the year 1872, and every two years thereafter. In all elections of representatives aforesaid each qualified voter may cast as many votes for one candidate as there are representatives to be elected, or may distribute the same, or equal parts thereof among the candidates as he shall see fit, and the candidates highest in vote shall be declared elected." Under this system the voters are permitted to give all three of their votes to one candidate or to distribute them at pleasure.

4. Both Parties Represented.—By this plan both of the great parties have a representative in every district, for by concentrating their votes on one candidate a minority may be reasonably certain of electing him.

5. Even Division of House.—Since the adoption of this system the House in the Illinois legislature is generally very evenly divided. The Senate has been republican for years, but the House has repeatedly had a democratic majority, thus preventing partisan legislation.

6. How Logan was Elected.—There are 51 districts in Illinois, thus making 51 senators and 153 representatives. In the election of a U. S. Senator 103 votes are necessary to elect. The last time that John A. Logan was elected the united houses numbered 102 republicans and 102 democrats. Day after day the houses united at twelve o'clock and the result was always the same. At last a republican represen-



SEN. JOHN M. PALMER,
Springfield, Ill.

tative died. This did not change matters for then voting ceased until a representative was elected to fill the vacancy. Then a democrat representing a very strong democratic district died. The republicans, *presumably*, made no effort to elect a man for "the district is overwhelmingly democratic." This put the democrats off their guard. Many did not go to the polls because the republicans did not vote and a democrat would be elected without any effort on their part. About two hours before the closing of the polls, the republicans came in from all quarters. It was found that they had secretly arranged this plan so as to catch the democrats. The democrats attempted to rally their forces, but it was too late and the republicans elected their man. This is how Logan was elected.

7. **A Representative Although Expensive System.**—In 1891 the Illinois legislature had 101 democrats, 100 republicans and 8 populists. For six weeks the joint houses balloted each day at an enormous expense to the state. The dead lock was finally broken by the populists returning to their old parties, thus electing John M. Palmer, the democratic candidate.





MRS. GROVER CLEVELAND.

Shall Women Vote?

1. The Question Agitated.—This is a question that is demanding the consideration of the American people as never before. It is not a new question, but is being agitated everywhere and will not be settled until woman has equal suffrage with man.

2. Opposition.—While the question of woman's suffrage is rapidly pushing itself to the front, it is not without opposition from some good, true-hearted, and well-meaning men. For years we have heard of organizations that tend to promote the cause of woman's suffrage, and many battles have already been won through the influence of these organizations. It may seem strange, but the fears of some are so great that equal suffrage will win, that organizations are being effected to oppose the granting of the ballot to women.

3. Unfounded Fears.—The knowing ones predict terrible consequences, in their anxiety to conserve woman's modesty and native delicacy, and are quite certain that home sanctities will be irremediably outraged now that women are getting their political eyes opened. Infants are to be left desolate, or consigned to the tender mercies of their papas, while the "new woman" goes gadding round to election meetings, and meddling generally with things she cannot possibly, and never will, understand. But our very shrewd fathers and brothers are not justified at all in their pessimism.

4. Woman's Elevation as Civilization Advances.—The Indian squaw is no better than a slave. She does the work while the Indian whiles away his time in idleness, in hunting, or in smoking.

India and the countries of the East present spectacles of men who are "lords of creation," and women who have no rights that men need respect. But as the benign influences of civilization and Christianity reach these darkened corners of the earth, woman is being elevated and made an equal with man.

In Europe, the large standing armies, where men are required to spend their best years in comparative idleness, compel women to engage in hard manual labor. No wonder that the foreigner, accustomed to sights like the cut on opposite page is opposed to woman's suffrage.

5. W. C. T. U.—The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has been and still is a mighty factor in solving what some term the vexed woman question. The latent power of thousands has been revealed, new avenues have opened until to-day woman is ready to compete with man in almost any calling.

6. The Scripture Argument.—Many claim that woman's suffrage is contrary to Scripture. Some remind us that Paul told wives to be subject to their husbands in everything. Paul also told sons to obey their parents and servants to be subject to their masters. Yet no one objects to

FATHER, SON, AND MOTHER.



the voting of servants and sons. The deference and obedience which the members of a household may owe in the household to the father of the family, does not affect their rights and duties as citizens.

Again, how is it contrary to Scripture to let a woman vote on state and municipal questions, yet in accordance with Scripture to let her vote on church questions?

7. Neglecting Domestic Affairs.—Judge Kingman, for four years a judge of the U. S. Supreme Court of Wyoming, says: "I do not believe that suffrage causes women to neglect their domestic affairs. Certainly, such has not been the case in Wyoming, and I never heard a man complain that his wife was less interested in domestic economy because she had the right to vote, and took an interest in making the community respectable." Whatever tends to make woman a more intelligent companion for her husband, and a more broad-minded mother to her children, is a distinct benefit to the home.

8. Civil Rights.—It is as absurd to deny all women their civil rights because the cares of the household and family take up all the time of some, as it would be to exclude the whole male sex from Congress because some men are sailors, or soldiers in active service, or merchants whose business requires all their attention and energies.

9. The Legal Aspect.—Does our sense of natural justice dictate that the being who is to suffer under laws shall first personally assent to them? that the being whose industry government is to burden should have a voice in fixing the character and amount of that burden? Then, while woman is admitted to the gallows, the jail, and the tax-list, we have no right to debar her from the ballot-box.

10. Strange Argument.—Suppose woman, though equal, to differ essentially in her intellect from man, is that any ground for disfranchising her? Shall the Fultons say to the Raphaels, "Because you cannot make steam-engines, therefore you shall not vote?" Shall the Napoleons or the Washingtons say to the Wadsworths or the Herschels, "Because you cannot lead armies and govern states, therefore you shall have no civil rights?"

11. The Ballot an Educator.—The ballot is an educator, and its benefits can be seen by contrasting the descendant of Jamestown or Plymouth, educated by his ballot, and the descendant of the same European ancestors who have grown up under a monarchy and never been allowed to choose. There have always been men glad to share with woman every advantage. Hence American women are as well informed as men, have as much patriotism and are just as capable of choice.



THE WOMAN WHO DOES NOT CARE TO VOTE.

12. Guardian of Her Children.—Grant that woman's intellect be essentially different, even inferior, if you choose, still, while our civilization allows her to hold property and to be the guardian of her children, she is entitled to such education and to such civil rights—voting among the rest—as will enable her to protect both her children and her estate. It is easy to indulge in dilettanti speculation as to woman's sphere and in the female intellect. But leave dainty speculation and come down to practical life. Here is a young widow; she has children and ability, if you will let her exercise it, to give her the best advantage of education to secure them every chance of success in life, or she has property to keep for them and no friends to rely on. Shall she leave them to sink in the unequal struggles of life? Shall she trust their all to any adviser money can buy in order to gratify your taste and give countenance to your nice theories? or shall she use all the powers God has given her for those He has thrown upon her protection? If we consult common sense and leave theories alone there is but one answer.

13. A Source of Domestic Trouble.—Let women vote! cries one. "Why, wives and daughters might be Democrats, while their fathers and husbands were Whigs. It would never do. It would produce endless quarrels." And the self-satisfied objector thinks he has settled the question.

But if the principle be a sound one, why not apply it in a still more important instance. Difference of religion breeds more quarrels than difference in politics. Yet we allow women to choose their own religious creeds, although we thereby run the risk of wives being Episcopalians while their husbands are Methodists, or daughters being Catholics while their fathers are Calvinists. Yet, who this side of Turkey dare claim that the law should compel women to have no religious creed, or adopt that of their male relatives? Practically this freedom in religion has made no difficulty; and probably equal freedom in politics would make as little.

14. Clear the List and Let Her Try.—Some reply, "It will be a great injury to feminine delicacy and refinement for woman to mingle in business and politics." Of such objections on this and kindred subjects, I love to dispose in some such way as this: The broadest and most far-sighted intellect is utterly unable to foresee the ultimate consequences of any great social change. Ask yourself on all such occasions if there be any element of right and wrong in the question, any principle of clear natural justice that turns the scale. If so, take your part with the perfect and abstract right,



THE WOMAN WHO WOULD VOTE.

and trust God to see that it shall prove the expedient. The questions, then, for me on this subject are these: Has God made woman capable—morally, intellectually, and physically—of taking this part in human affairs? Then, what God made her able to do, it is a strong argument that He intended she should do.

15. **Leave it to Woman.**—We do not attempt to settle what shall be the profession, education, or employment of woman. We have not that presumption. What we ask is simply this, what all other classes have asked before: Leave it to woman to choose for herself her profession, her education, and her sphere. We deny to any portion of the species the right to prescribe to any other portion its sphere, its education, or its rights. We deny the right of any individual to prescribe to any other individual his amount of education or his rights. The sphere of each man, of each woman, of each individual is that sphere which he can, with the highest exercise of his powers, perfectly fill. The highest act which the human being can do, that is the act which God designed him to do.

16. **Marching to the Front.**—Whether we are in favor of this movement or not, argument will never settle it. The freedom of the press, the freedom of labor, the freedom of the race in its lowest classes, was never argued to success. The moment you can get women to go out into the highway of life and show by active valor what God has created her for, that moment this question is settled forever. One solid fact of a woman's making her fortune in trade will teach the male sex what woman's capacity is. Examples are not wanting to-day. The women are determined to have it, and men who do not agree with them might as well as not reconcile themselves to the inevitable. In three states women have universal suffrage already. With the many organizations already existing that aid them in their effort, and a host of intelligent broad-minded men to support their cause, there is no question as to the final disposition of the matter.

Where Women Have the Right to Vote.

In Great Britain women vote for all elective officers, except members of Parliament.

In France the women teachers elect women on all the Boards of Education.

In Sweden women vote for all elective officers except Representatives; also, indirectly, for members of the House of Lords.



WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

In Norway they have school suffrage.

In Ireland the women vote for the harbor boards and Poor Law Guardians, and in Belfast for municipal officers.

In Russia women householders vote for all elective officers and on all local matters.

In Finland they vote for all elective officers.

In Austria-Hungary they vote by proxy for all elective officers.

In Croatia and Dalmatia they have the privilege of doing so in local elections in person.

In Italy widows vote for members of Parliament.

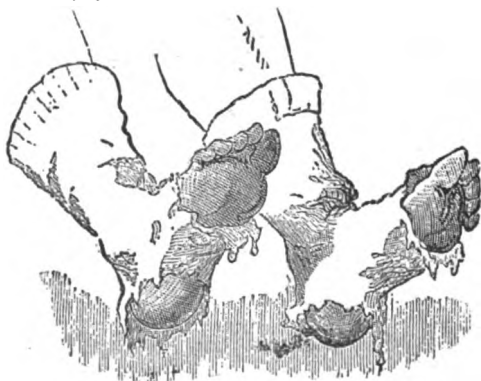
In the Madras Presidency and the Bombay Presidency (Hindustan), the women exercise the right of suffrage in all municipalities.

In all the countries of Russian Asia they can do so wherever a Russian colony settles. The Russians are colonizing the whole of their vast Asian possessions and carrying with them everywhere the "mir," or self-governing village, wherein women who are the heads of households are permitted to vote.

Women have municipal suffrage in Cape Colony, which rules a million square miles.

Iceland, in the North Atlantic; the Isle of Man, between England and Ireland, and Pitcairn Island, in the South Pacific, have full women suffrage.

In the Dominion of Canada women have municipal suffrage in every province, and also in the Northwest Terri-



"Darn My Stockings. What man could do it?"



MAN'S FEARS REALIZED,
Women at the Polls.

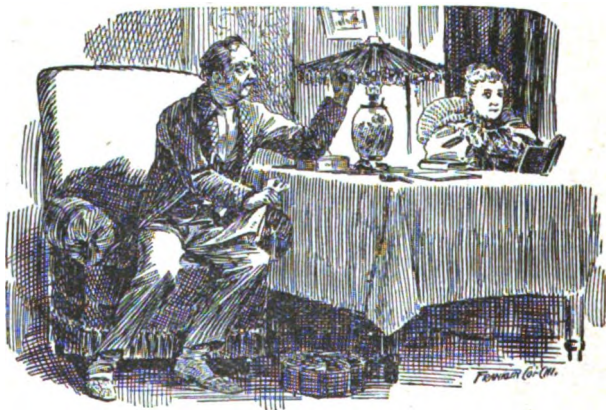
stories. In Ontario they vote for all elective officers, except in the elections of members of Legislature and Parliament.

In **New Zealand** women have the same suffrage rights as have men.

In the **United States**, besides the three states, Wyoming, Utah and Colorado, giving full women suffrage, the following grant school suffrage in various degrees: Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Idaho, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin.

In **Delaware** suffrage is exercised by women in several municipalities.

In **Kansas** they have equal suffrage with men at all municipal elections. About 50,000 women voted in 1890.



TALKING POLITICS AT HOME.

In **Wyoming** women have voted on the same terms with men since 1870. The convention in 1889 to form a State Convention unanimously inserted a provision securing them full suffrage. This constitution was ratified by the voters at a special election by about three-fourths majority. Congress refused to require the disfranchisement of women and admitted the state July 10, 1890.

CHAPTER VI.

Parties, Rise and Fall, Nominating Conventions.

1. **History Repeats Itself.**—"History repeats itself" is an old proverb, but it is true in too general sense to be a practical guide to America. No other nation ever came into existence as we did. The most active, adventurous, unselfish, original, and forceful spirits of the world came here, not to seek homes only, but to get out of an atmosphere too conservative for merit to grow in. On their arrival new ambitions were awakened, new incentives quickened their thoughts, and new fields for political and even religious inquiries were opened before them. Words grew into new significance never before applied to them.

2. **Name Pioneer.**—It would fill a volume to describe the name pioneer in its grandness, since the pioneer spirit took possession of the American mind, and began the work of producing new States, bringing true merit to the front, and exalting the nation by growing up Washington, Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and other great men from the political germ of a virgin soil planted by pioneers.

3. **Political Parties Are of Slow Growth in Europe.**—Political parties are of slow growth in Europe, and their issues limited within the interests of a dynasty cemented together by religious holds on the conscience acting in conjunction with a financial grip that disperses bread to a nation of landless rent payers.

4. **The Civil Rights of Man.**—While we, like Europe, inherited science from Greece, neither we nor England inherited our political policy from her. She taught us astronomy but not the laws of a land tenure nor the civil rights of man. Civil rights have come to us under the quickening influence of nature's broad domain, spread out before us on the plains of the New Word. Here was an immaculate page on which to write the policy of a nation whose children and youth have rounded up into manhood's proportion, not lean with hunger nor plethoric with abused authority.

5. **Political Parties.**—Neither the Roman nor the Saxon nor the Norman invasion of England produced any popular political parties. The people continued of one mind through all these changes as much as they were under the Druid Age. They had no opinion nor any knowledge of the situation as to any policy except the one foreshadowed by their rulers. But after a hiatus of inert years two opposing elements came into collision with each other, not on political issues but religious—the Cavaliers and the Puritans. These were the first popular issues in England, but

a political issue took root with them, arranged under the names of Whigs and Tories.

6. **Whigs and Tories.**—The Tories, advocates of the Divine Rights of Kings, and the Whigs, though loyal to the Crown, wished to subject its authority to Parliament. This issue is still before the English people, and though in a modified form, was manifest in the late policy of Gladstone in his attempts to establish Home Rule for Ireland, a great question not yet settled. The old Whig party are now called Liberals, but the Tories have changed neither their name nor principles, being stalwart advocates of the prerogative of the Crown and defenders of the House Lords. Such was and is now the partisanship of a nation whom we are proud to own as our parent state.

During the Commonwealth of England, as might be supposed, the issue between the Whigs and Tories was taken up by the American colonies, but the Whigs were in the majority except in the Virginia colony.

7. **The "Declaratory Act."**—Moderation is a rare quality in nations or even individuals when under the inspiration of success, and England was no exception to the rule. Her American colonies had always been loyal to her, and from appearances at that time it seemed manifested that a revenue might be drawn from them without disturbing the harmonious relations. Under this unfounded confidence in their submissive spirit, the English Parliament in 1763 passed what was termed "The Declaratory Act" the object of which was to make it legal to tax the American Colonies.

But this was not done without opposition.

8. **The Stamp Act.**—Not without a strong opposition in the British Cabinet the Stamp Act was passed soon after the Enabling Act, and the time of its taking effect being set in 1765.

During this interim able advocates of constitutional rights, both in England and America, have laid down principles which neither words could logically answer nor can time obliterate their force. They are as fresh now as when they came from the tongues of both the English and the American representatives of constitutional law at that time. Mr. Pitt, in his opposition to the Stamp Act, in referring to the days of the French and Indian War, the success of which was due to his premiership, called attention to certain members of the Cabinet who, during that eventful period, proposed to tax the colonies by means of a stamp act, used the following language: "Not that there were wanting some, when I had this honor to serve his majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with the American Stamp Act."

9. **The Stamp Act Repealed.**—The Stamp Act was repealed by Parliament as a palliative ere the time had elapsed for its enforcement, but other acts were passed, such as the revival of the navigation laws, which had long been a dead letter, but now to be actually enforced.

These laws subjected certain articles of merchandise to an excise duty, but the opposition to being taxed in this way was so great, and so many impediments thrown in the way of executing them, that the British Cabinet yielded to the inevitable fate and practically abandoned the policy that had been tried, but in vain.

10. **The Article of Tea.**—The article of tea was the only exception, and an attempt was made by the East India Company to introduce this trade into Boston, relying on success by making the price of tea, even with its duties added, cheaper than its market value in England. On its arrival in Boston harbor the whole town turned out, and from the thousands who beheld this subtle attempt to circumvent the will of the Bostonians, a few stalwart Whigs of the American type, disguised themselves in the garb of Indians, boarded the tea laden vessels and emptied the politically contraband contents into the sea. Years passed away before anyone ever knew who these men were. The last survivor of this number died about forty years ago, and his iron framed picture adorns many a gallery throughout the country.

11. **First Colonial Congress.**—As the Chameleon changes color according to its contiguity to shades, so the public conscience, impelled by the evolutions of English law, first demanded redress, next independence, and next, to secure it, demanded a sword, the last argument to which manhood resorts. The Colonial Congress assembled in New York, 1765. The Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia, 1774, at which latter place maturity of thought reached its limit in a declaration of independence, July 4th, 1776. This marvelous demand, without a parallel in history, struck not only England, but Europe and the world, with astonishment.

12. **Articles of Confederation.**—Two years later, July 4, 1778, articles of confederation and perpetual union were signed. American Whigs were now called rebels in England, while American Tories still retained the name in both countries. Most of them left America for their political home, and here it ought not to be omitted that these royalists were composed of a highly respectable element in society.

13. The Sword Was Drawn.—Social ties were severed, lovers were parted never to meet again, and even kindred ties were absolved; for the sword was drawn, not to be returned to its scabbard till Europe was deluged in war, and till a new nation was born, and a new plan to be unfolded as the popular heart willed it.

From that time to the present this nation has been mounting from strength to strength, and its inventive genius, the admiration of the world, has furnished many a model to be copied by this world, or be left behind in the progress of grandeur. It is not always strange that a nation of thinkers should give birth to a variety of political parties, each holding themselves to be virtues of independence.

14. Declaration of Independence.—Seventy representatives of the original proposers of purposes of this nation signed the Declaration of Independence, and in their Declaration none of the principles evolved in the governments of Europe were borrowed, but the principles of popular thought in America were summarized into an epitome by Thomas Jefferson, none of which were more original with him than with his peers at that time, but his forcible style of formulating them was the admiration of America and the astonishment of Europe.

15. Peace Commissioners.—During the war which followed the first substantial success that crowned the victories of Bennington and Saratoga, by the latter of which General Burgoyne's armies sent Peace Commissioners to America, and to use a metaphor, gave the Continental Congress a blank sheet on which to write the terms on which peace could be made, promising to accept anything short of absolute independence. This offer was declined. The next year the British renewed the offer during the darkest hours of the war, but Congress was as firm as ever in its original purpose, whereupon the English Commissioners with an assurance that never had a parallel in history, asked of the cabinet the privilege to circulate documents among the people, embodying the substance of this offer. It was refused, nor was it complimentary to the cabinet to suppose it possible that it would grant any overtures that might create in the public mind, especially one at variance with the unanimous will of this firm body of men.

16. France.—The best apology for this puerile piece of diplomacy on the part of our British fathers is that drowning men catch at straws. The first fruitage of the capture of Burgoyne's army was our treaty with France, whereby that power made a solemn pledge not to make peace with

Great Britain until our independence was secured. Later in the war Cornwallis and his army were taken prisoners at Yorktown by a timely union of the forces under Washington himself and our generous ally La Fayette. This victory in effect won our cause; but the treaty by which peace was to be secured was long delayed on account of the complicated conditions of it, not only pertaining to France but also to Spain. The latter power had been reluctantly drawn into a war with England by events not within the scope of these pages. She was no friend to America, and it was political torture for her to fight the British when every gun she fired was indirectly assisting her rival on American soil for territory, as she then owned Florida and the entire territory west of the Mississippi, together with New Orleans and its surroundings east of that stream.

17. **Other Impediments.**—Besides these, other impediments acted as friction to delay making a peace treaty which were the title and character by which the American Commissioners were to be received at the negotiations for peace which were to be held at Paris. What were they? Were they the Plenipotentiaries of a nation, or commissioners from American colonies to treat for peace? If the former, the main question was concluded in advance, and there was little to treat on left. If the latter, they went into the convention on humble terms which were degrading to the nation they represented.

18. **The Illustrious Men.**—John Adams, John Jay, Benjamin Franklin, and Henry Lawrence were the illustrious men who held the honor of America in their hands, and they were equal to the occasion. After long delay the king consented to treat with the American Commissioners as representatives of a nation defacto. The question of boundary was not the only difficult one to settle, and Spain was the disturbing element in this issue. Her king was of Bourbon blood, like the French king, and by virtue of the family contract between these thrones they were to guarantee to each other the integrity of the respective territory of each, and, although the demand of the American Commissioners was the Mississippi, and its western limits involved no territorial loss to Spain, yet it gave the new nation a great start at the onset over herself as to territory, and Spain used her utmost influence to make the Alleghany Mountains the line, leaving the territory intervening therein and the Mississippi open to the progress of future condition.

19. **The American Commissioners.**—But the American Commissioners were firm in their demand of the Mississippi as the western line, and the treaty, after much delay, was signed to this effect by Messrs. Adams, Franklin and Jay on the part of America, Mr. Lawrence being not present, and by David Hartley on the part of England.

20. **Treaty of Peace.**—Thus closed the American Revolution at Paris, September 3, 1783, bringing a nation into the great family of nations with but one political party, but whose various interests were destined to develop others in the future.

There was no one living at this date who fully understood or conceived the magnitude of the victory won by war and secured by the terms of the treaty. During the war, few if any one tried to forecast the future. The confederacy of the colonies really had terminated its union when the war ceased. It was not fitted to the emergencies of a nation, as was soon proven. It could not deal with foreign questions nor had the government made any proposed plans to meet any such emergency and did not till a necessity for it existed.

21. **Centralized Power.**—The bitter expressions of the colonists brought to light when the strong arm of the crown tried to abridge their constitutional rights as English subjects, had made each of the confederated states jealous of centralized power lest it might set bounds to the authority of the state subversive of freedom, and under this conviction private citizens were reluctant to recognize any centralized power above the state.

22. During a session of the Continental Congress held March 8, 1786, initial steps were taken to formulate a constitution.

During the deliberation of this Congress arguments were made against the proposed measures on the ground that they would terminate in a constitutional monarchy. But such suspicions were quieted by the logic of Hamilton, Adams and Jay, who while deserving the chief credit for drafting our Constitution were ably assisted by many other of our model statesmen of that prolific age in the growth of eminent Americans.

23. **Sacred to the Rights of Man.**—Who but the profoundest thinkers the world ever produced could make so perfect a framework wherewith to build a nation? Where in English literature was ever the exigencies of a nation so amply provided for? What other monument was ever so sacred to the rights of man? The following account of the manner of this guide to national grandeur is copied from "The Rights of Man," by Thomas Paine:

"The powers vested in the governments of the several states, by the state constitutions, were found, upon experience, to be too great, and those vested in the federal government, by the act of federation, too little. The defect was not in the principle, but in the distribution of power.

24. A Continental Conference.—"Numerous publications in pamphlets and newspapers appeared on the propriety and necessity of newly modeling the Federal government. After some time of public discussion, carried on through the channel of the press and in conversations, the state of Virginia, experiencing some inconvenience with respect to commerce, proposed holding a continental conference, in consequence of which a deputation from five or six of the state assemblies met at Annapolis, in Maryland, in 1786. This meeting, not conceiving itself sufficiently authorized to go into the business of a reform, did not more than state their general opinions of the propriety of the measures and recommend that a convention of all the states should be held the following year.

"This convention met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, of which General Washington was elected president. He was not at that time connected with any of the state governments or with Congress. He delivered up his commission when the war ended, and since then had lived a private citizen.

25. A Federal Constitution.—"The convention went deeply into all the subjects, and having after a variety of debate and investigation agreed among themselves upon the several parts of a federal Constitution, the next question was the manner of giving it authority and practice.

"They first directed that the proposed Constitution should be published. Second, that each state should elect a convention expressly for the purpose of taking it into consideration and of ratifying or rejecting it; and that as soon as the approbation and ratification of any nine states should be given, those states should proceed to the election of their proportion of members of the new federal government, and that the operation of it should then begin, and the former federal government cease.

26. Ratified the Constitution.—"The several states proceeded accordingly to elect their conventions; some of those conventions ratified the Constitution by a very large majority, and in two or three unanimously. In others there was much debate and division of opinion. In the Massachusetts convention, which met at Boston, the majority was not above nineteen or twenty, in about three hundred members; but such is the nature of representative government, that it quietly decides all matters by majority. After the

debate in the Massachusetts convention was closed, and the vote taken, the objecting members arose and declared 'that though they had argued and voted against it because certain parties appeared to them in a different light to what they did to other members, yet, as the vote had been decided in favor of the Constitution as proposed they should give it the same practical support as if they had voted for it.'

"As soon as the nine states had concurred and the rest followed in the order their conventions were elected, the old fabric of the federal government was taken down and a new one erected."

27. **The Federalists and the Anti-Federalists.**—While the convention was in session, the debates on such articles in it, as might be prejudicial to the broadest principles of freedom, or to the individual rights, called forth nice distinctions between the rights of the masses, and those of the high bred man of mind and of culture born to rule. These conditions, drawn from nature and education combined, cannot fail to have a controlling influence in jurisprudence; but constitutionally they must be subject to the same laws as govern other conditions. The old federal fathers of the nation were the brainiest men in the world; but the commoner element must have their voice in this matter, and the debates drew forth, and anticipated the wants of all classes; and, in doing this, erected two political parties, the Federalists and Anti-Federalists being the first political parties after the adoption of the Constitution. The anti-Federalists assumed the name Republicans about 1791.

28. **First President.**—The first Wednesday in January, 1789, was appointed for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, and the first Wednesday in the following February for the voting of the electors. They were 69 in number, all of whom voted for Washington for President. John Adams had 34 votes for Vice-President, and 35 were cast for other candidates.





THE HON. MR. RUSSELL, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

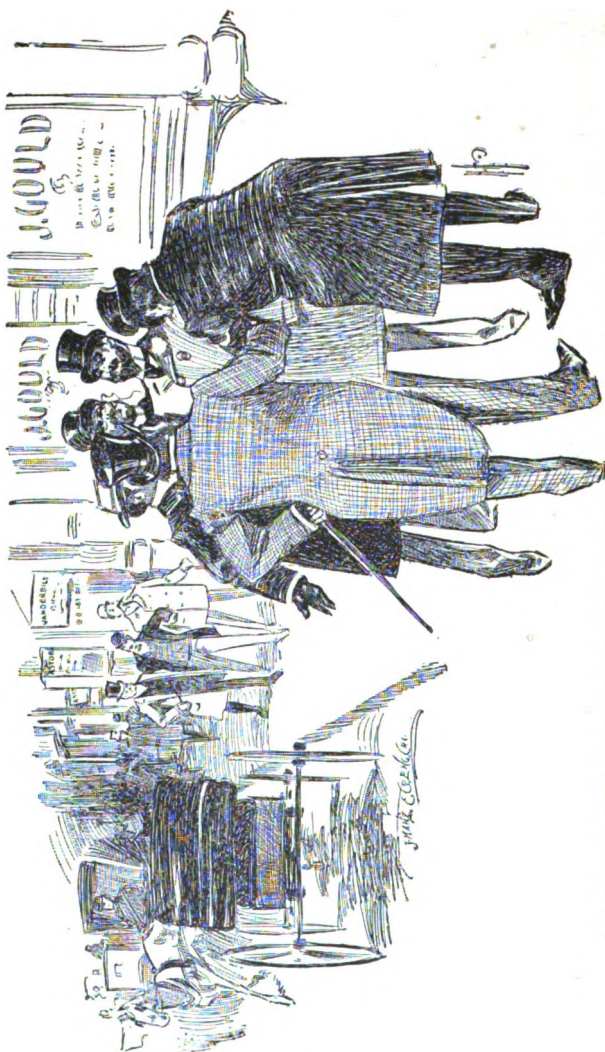
The Origin of Political Parties in America.

1. The Bitterness of Party Spirit.—The bitterness of party spirit is never to be excused or defended, much less commended, yet the existence of parties seems unavoidable in the conditions of our people, and should not be regarded as necessarily an evil. They promote watchfulness on the part of the people, and render it next to impossible for those in power to betray their trust or to cherish abuses that imperil the nation.

2. The Political Parties of the Colonial Period were transplants from the mother country, with issues allied to those which represented the divisions of public sentiment on the other side of the ocean. The Tory was the loyalist party in England, which supported the prerogatives of the Crown, and defended its exactions and tyrannies, often to the hazard of the liberties and prosperity of the people.

3. The Liberalists of that day, both in England and in the colonies, were known as Whigs. They stood for the rights of the people, under constitutional government, against the aggressions of the Crown. In the estimation of the Tory, the people exist for the government; but in the estimation of the Whig, the government exists for the people.

4. The Revolution.—During the period of the Revolution the words Tory and Whig fitly expressed the sentiments of the parties in their relation to the mighty struggle;



WALL STREET, NEW YORK—THE MEN WHO RULE AMERICA.

out, after independence, the word "Tory" became too obnoxious to loyal Americans ever to be used in this country as the name of a political party. The word "Whig" never incurred odium of any sort, but it lost much of its significance in the new conditions which followed the war, particularly under the Articles of Confederation.

5. **The Federalist Party.**—Those who favored the making of a constitution and secured its adoption, believing in a strong Federal government, were designated Federalists, while those who opposed it in the interest of larger powers for the states were called Republicans. These were the parties under the Constitution. The Federalists elected the first President, George Washington, and set the new government in operation. They interpreted the grants of power made in the Constitution quite liberally, assuming that the purpose of that instrument was to constitute the United States an independent sovereignty.

6. **The Opposition Grew.**—The Federalist party, after incorporating its essential principles in the government, and electing Washington twice and John Adams once, would seem to have had prestige and power enough to maintain itself and conquer opposition; but the opposition grew in intensity and virulence, and the party in power fell under odium through the unwise action of some of its adherents who, in its name, sought for enlargements of power not in the Constitution and never contemplated by the real founders of the government.

7. **Democratic-Republican Party.**—In the meantime the opposition, then known as the Democratic-Republican party, had acquiesced in the adoption of the Constitution, accepted its provisions, increased in public favor and gathered strength to gain control of the government by the election of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency. By this time the original issues between the parties had passed away, and new questions had arisen, so that "Federalist" and "Republican" had come to mean something widely different from the ideas which were attached to them in the earlier history of the parties.

8. **The Party of Jefferson and Madison.**—The party of Jefferson and Madison, the first competitor of the party which elected Washington and Adams, became the party of the government upon the accession of Mr. Jefferson, and, in the broadest sense, the National party, the events preceding and causing the war of 1812 contributing largely to the expansion of its principles, as well as to its triumph, in the complete overthrow of the Federalist party.

9. **Re-Elected Without Opposition.**—The people who supported Jefferson and Madison approved the enlargement of their ideas, carried the war to a successful issue, and elected Mr. Monroe to the presidency, leaving the remnant of the Federalist party scattered and powerless. Under Monroe's first administration the old issues became obsolete, and party organizations ceased to exist. He was re-elected substantially without opposition. In the fullest sense he was the President of the people. When his second term expired there were no organized parties to put candidates in the field, after the modern methods. The old Federalist party was dead; the old Republican party had outgrown itself as a party, had expanded its creed, possessed the government and lost identity as a party in successful administration. No existing political party can possibly antedate this epoch in our national history—an epoch distinguished in our political annals as the era of peace and good-will.

10. **The Democratic Party.**—Such was the creed of the Democratic party when it first became a party. That creed, like all creeds, was a growth. It never sprang matured from any man's brain. Its germinal ideas accorded with the principles which guided Mr. Jefferson's administration after his practical statesmanship had lifted him above the vagaries of his earlier years, and made his conduct of the government wise and vigorous. The real seed-thoughts of the party, however, were found in the administration of Andrew Jackson, or rather in the discussions excited by his acts while in office. The doctrines promulgated by his followers, which were afterward formulated into a creed for the party, were not made prominent in connection with pending questions, so as to be effective in his first election.

11. **No Political Organizations.**—When Mr. Monroe's successor was to be chosen there were no political organizations to nominate candidates. In this condition of affairs what might have been anticipated came to pass. Several statesmen of high character were brought forward by their personal friends as worthy to receive the electoral votes of the states. Adams, Jackson, Clay, Crawford and White became candidates, although the last two were scarcely recognized as such outside of their own states. The first three were the real competitors. They were all friends of the administration; their following was not partisan, but personal. The electoral votes were so divided that no choice was made and the election was carried into the House of Representatives. Jackson had the largest number of votes, but not enough to elect him.

12. **John Quincy Adams.**—The friends of Adams and Clay united their forces and gave the election to Adams, and Adams made Clay his secretary of state. This transaction had the appearance of barter and gave great offense to the followers of Jackson, who raised the cry of bargain and sale, and lost no time in determining to oppose the administration thus inaugurated. They rallied to the support of their chief, determined to elect him at the end of four years, a purpose they pursued with tireless energy till it was accomplished. This organized opposition to John Quincy Adams, in the interest of Andrew Jackson, was known as the Jackson party. The supporters of Adams were known as the Administration party.

13. **The Whig Party.**—It was inevitable that political parties so distinctly marked and openly struggling for success, should have distinguishing names. These were soon found. The Jackson party took the name Democrat, and became the Democratic party. As an organization it remains till this day. The other party took to itself the honored name of the party of the Revolutionary patriots, and became the Whig party. Adams was its candidate for reelection, but failed; Jackson was elected. He was the first Democratic President, using the term in its modern sense.

14. **The Fate of the Whig Party.**—The fate of the Whig party, coming as it did through complications with the slavery question, affords lessons of profound significance. As a party it comprised a large share of the intelligence and talent of the country. Its principles commanded the approval of the most gifted of the nation. Its methods were open and honorable; and, so far as it affected the legislation of the country, its influence was beneficial. A more patriotic party never sought the favor of the American people; yet its success was limited, as it never enjoyed the privilege of an unbroken administration of the government. It elected two Presidents, and both died in office. Its first President, General Harrison, died in a month after his inauguration, before his policy could be developed, and the Vice-President, on whom the duties of the presidency devolved, proved untrue to the party which elected him, and defeated the measures on which the hearts of the people were set.

15. **The Abolition Party.**—The downfall of the Whig party dates from its defeat in 1852. The influence of the "Third party" was something, but not a powerful factor in its overthrow. The assumption that it was a chief agency is not supported by the facts. In 1840 and in 1844 the abolition party cast an inconsiderable vote, which did not

amount to a disturbing element in the elections of those years. In 1848 the "Free-Soil" party was in the field with a broader platform and with a greater element of strength.

16. **Large Free-Soil Vote.**—The nomination of General Taylor by the Whigs alienated the Quakers and some other anti-slavery people from the Whig party; while the nomination of Lewis Cass by the Democrats offended many in that party, particularly in the state of New York, and prepared the way for the large Free-Soil vote cast that year—the largest ever cast. Martin Van Buren bolted the nomination of Cass, and he and his special adherents expressed sympathy with Free-Soilism, probably as much to defeat his old competitor, General Cass, as to advance the cause of freedom. He was nominated by the Free-Soil party and accepted. His candidacy drew from the Democrats about as many votes as were drawn from the Whigs, and aided not in the destruction of the Whig party, but in the election of General Taylor. The Free-Soil vote of 1852 was much less than in 1848.

17. **The Know-Nothing Party.**—Then came the Know-Nothing furor, which swept the country like a tornado, disrupting party lines as nothing had ever done before. It was not a third party, but a movement of extraordinary character, forming an anomalous chapter in the history of American politics. The Whig party was already out of the field, and never again confronted its old competitor.

18. **The Republican Party.**—The Democratic party, though badly shattered, being in power, managed to survive as a party. Out of the debris came the Republican party, organized and drilled, ready for the fray, in 1856. Into it came the anti-slavery elements of all the old parties, including all the voters of the Free-Soil party, who were in it from principle. Pro-slavery Whigs went over to the Democrats. Thus after the culmination of the slave power, and after the sifting of the Know-Nothing storm, the lines of the parties were finally drawn upon the issues thrust upon the country by the aggressions of slavery. The practical question demanding settlement was the extension of slavery into the territories. The Republican party squarely accepted this issue; but, anti-slavery as it was, it proposed no interference with the institution in the states where it existed.

19. **Lincoln and Johnson.**—Looking backward from the present, the discovery that the Republican party has made mistakes is no evidence of superior discernment. It did not develop its own scheme of reconstruction. The death of Mr. Lincoln was followed by embarrassments through the defection of Andrew Johnson, that crippled its opera-

tions and forced contentment with half-way measures. With his unquestioned loyalty to the Union, Mr. Johnson was at heart a Democrat, and in the crisis of reconstruction his Democratic instincts asserted themselves, throwing into confusion the counsels of those who had given him power. In debate he was the peer of the strongest men of his times, and having the courage of his convictions his exercise of the veto power was prompt and vigorous. With less of kindness toward the south than Mr. Lincoln possessed, his sense of obligation to the whole country and to the future was dull in comparison with that which characterized his predecessor, the illustrious martyr. In these circumstances it was impossible for the party to carry into effect any measure that encountered his prejudices. Compromise in reconstruction was therefore inevitable.

20. The Stamp of its Power.—Nevertheless the Republican party has been a success and as such it will pass into history whether it shall ever elect another President or not. Its fundamental principles inherited from the Whig party, and those developed in the fires of its conflicts, have been wrought into the fabric of the government, so that no party will attempt their elimination. The stamp of its power is in the Constitution, in the established rights of suffrage, in the national currency, and in everything to the maintenance of the national honor at home and abroad.

21. Other Parties.—There have been other parties which have figured more or less in the political field. The Anti-Masonic party has had an ephemeral existence, but never reached the dignity of a national party, and exerted only an incidental influence in public affairs. The same is true of the Abolition and Free-Soil parties, previously named. There was an American party, the product of Know-Nothingism, which lingered for a while after the storm, and contributed to the confusion that reigned in political circles during the interval between the going down of the Whig party and the development of the Republican party. There was a "Union" party in the field prior to the war, known as the Bell-Everett party, from the names of the candidates; but it was only a temporary expedient, a sort of post-mortem wriggle of defunct Whigism, where the Republican movement was unable to obtain recognition.

22. The Prohibition Party.—The Prohibition party came into the field at a later date, and exhibited greater persistency than some of the other "third parties," having under it a noble sentiment, and in it men of moral worth and philanthropic aim; but even this party never had the prospect of reaching the goal of its ambition, and never made any direct contribution toward the destruction of political evils.

The Prohibition party, however, has for more than a quarter of a century shown a tenacity and an unswerving hold to principle that will, sooner or later, give it prestige among the great parties, or incorporate its principles in some other great party, not yet formed.

23. People's Party.—The last experiment in this line, the so-called People's party, has puzzled and bewildered many astute manipulators of public sentiment, yet inspiring a high degree of hopefulness with regard to beneficial results.

The practical lesson deducible from this summary of political history is that there is no foundation for a political party to stand upon that is either broad enough or strong enough to give the slightest hope of achieving success in controlling the affairs of the nation, except some principle of construing the Constitution of the United States, which is sufficiently far-reaching to touch every department of the government and to determine the character and genius of our institutions.

Party Government.

1. The Purchased Vote.—Elections go by extremes; first one way and then the other. It is thus seen that a large proportion of the voting population is easily changed. In every national election thousands and millions of dollars are expended directly and indirectly in the purchase of votes. Large sums of money pass over the bars of the saloon at every election, left there by candidates or their friends, for this unrighteous purpose, and hence men are too often entrusted with an office because of their influence over the low and vicious classes rather than on account of their fitness and qualifications.

2. The Most Important Functions.—Among the most important functions of these organizations are the selection of candidates and the adoption of a platform or declaration of principles. These responsible duties are intrusted to conventions, composed of delegates chosen for the purpose at the party elections, known as the primaries.

3. Divisions.—Those who have so far conformed to the rules of a party as to be entitled to vote at its primaries may be divided into two classes, as follows: **1. Citizens who**

have no special advantages to gain, and whose only motive for participation is their desire for good government. 2. Those who are actuated by personal ambition or hopes of securing office, contracts, or pecuniary benefits.

4. **Time and Labor.**—In order to carry the primaries a considerable amount of time and labor must necessarily be expended. The voters must communicate with each other; views must be compared and harmonized; candidates suggested, interviewed and agreed upon; tickets prepared and supplied, and concert of action secured.

5. **Trickery and Fraud.**—But the majority of citizens, engrossed as they are with private business and family cares, have neither time nor inclination for such tasks. And when their reluctance is overcome, as it occasionally is by their sense of public duty, they are likely to find that their opponents have no hesitation in resorting to misrepresentation, trickery, or fraud, in order to control the result. Under these circumstances a small but well-disciplined, energetic and unscrupulous minority can generally defeat the honorable and patriotic majority. It is therefore not surprising that honest and industrious citizens are apt to conclude that it is useless for them to take part in such contests.

6. **Party Leaders.**—Public offices, contracts and patronage are what they work for and what they must have, by fair means if possible, but if not, then by whatever means may be necessary. For this purpose they are obliged to combine among themselves and to submit to such leaders as may seem best able to direct their efforts and to secure and apportion among them the prizes they covet. Having once acquired complete control of a nominating convention, their natural desire is, of course, to nominate such candidates as will best serve their own personal interests, and in the absence of factional fights among themselves, the only real check upon this desire is their fear of losing enough of the more independent votes to turn the scale in the general elections.

7. **Candidates.**—This conflict between what they would like to do and what they dare to do, usually results in their nominating such men as have no more honesty and independence than may seem to be absolutely necessary for ultimate success. And if they can secure candidates who are generally believed to be able and honorable, but who will really obey and assist the spoilsmen, the temptation to nominate them, and thus deceive and outwit the people, can hardly be resisted.

8. **Party Platform.**—In the construction of a party platform the leaders are naturally governed by similar motives,



Filling the Party Orator with Political Wind.

and, instead of publishing a frank statement of their real objects and intentions, they are disposed to adopt whatever may seem most likely to attract the voters. In their effort to do this they seek to treat almost every subject of public interest, but there are necessarily some points in regard to which even the members of their own party are divided, and it is one of the defects of party government that while many voters find sentiments which they disapprove in each platform, they can see no alternative but to cast their ballots for one or the other and thus seem to endorse and support ideas to which they are really opposed.

9. **Vote for the Best Men.**—It would appear, therefore, that our system of political parties must necessarily tend to place the selection of our candidates and the declaration of our principles into the hands of a small minority of comparatively selfish and unscrupulous men. It is therefore evident that in order to secure good laws and preserve our free institutions we must vote for the best men, regardless of party.

10. **Candidate Belongs to a Party.**—Under such a system, if a candidate belongs to a party which happens to be on the most popular side of some leading question, like the tariff or silver coinage, his lack of integrity or personal ability must be very glaring to prevent his election. And when he takes his seat in a legislative body, and it becomes his duty to make a careful study of some important question, to sift the evidence and reach a wise and just conclusion, he, who should be like an impartial judge or an unprejudiced jurymen, may be found to be only the bond-servant of the leaders of his party, a mere automaton for the registering of their decrees.

11. **The Remedy.**—The business and industrious classes will have to take more of an active part in the elections. The farmer must leave his farm for a few hours and the business man his store or office and meet in the primaries and caucuses and defeat the wardheelers and unprincipled politicians who are always on hand to advance the interests of some unworthy candidate. The time has come when men must take an interest in the government under which they live and to which they must look for liberty and prosperity; and the time must come when men must not vote for party, but for the best men; men who are honest and will fearlessly do their duty regardless of the party influences. A public officer must work for the interest of the people at large, and not solely for the party which placed him in power. The President of the United States, to be a good executive of the nation, must be a President of the United

States in fact and not simply a president of the party which placed him in office—and the same principle should apply to every executive or legislative office in the gift of the people.

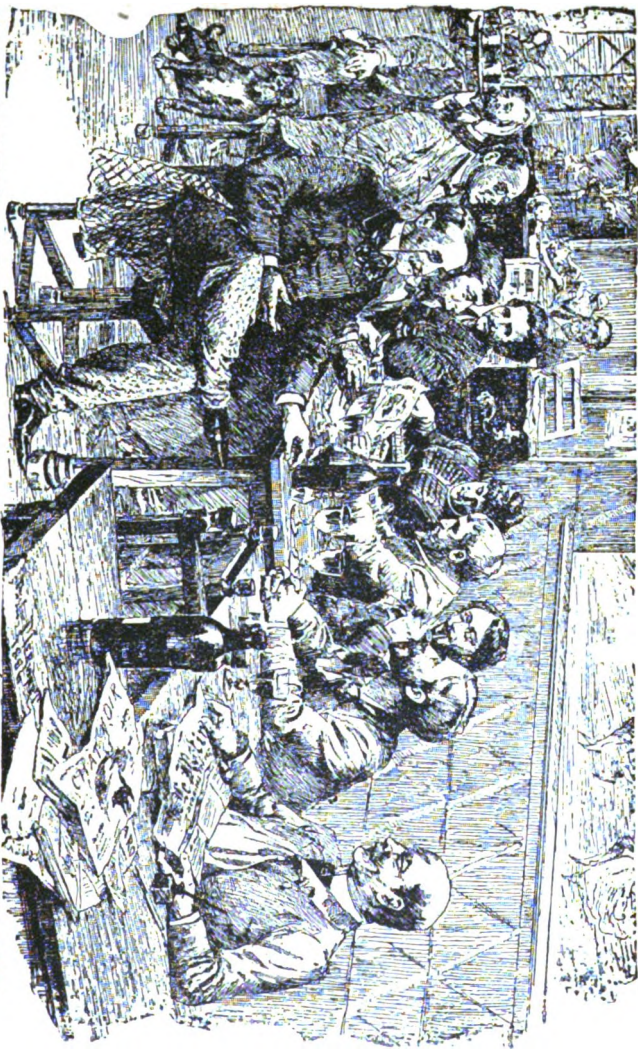
12. The National Parties.—The national parties as Macy in his Civil Government says, are the agencies which render it possible for millions of people to choose their rulers and express themselves on national questions. They are thoroughly organized. Each party has a national committee, a committee in each state, one in each county and often one in each township. They hold caucuses, primaries, and conventions; select candidates for office; formulate political doctrines; hold meetings, persuade voters and in various ways strive to secure a majority of the votes.

13. Two Parties Only.—It is desirable that the parties be only two in number. They are artificial agencies for obtaining majorities; and if there are more than two of them, this becomes more difficult. A third party may be organized for the purpose of advocating certain opinions, and of influencing the regular parties to adopt those opinions; but as soon as one of the parties may be induced to adopt the opinions of the third party, the latter should disband. If a third party attempts to keep up a separate organization after it loses its distinctive principles, it becomes a source of confusion and corruption to the voters.

14. The Third Party.—A third party may be organized for the purpose of displacing one of the old parties. Such a plan is almost sure to fail. We have in our history one notable instance: the Republican party displaced the Whig party; but the circumstances were peculiar. It would be a great waste of political energy to disband all the counties of the state, and then organize new counties in their place. It is likewise a waste of political energy to disband an old party and organize a new party to take its place. There must be peculiar circumstances to justify such a waste. It is not an easy task to make seventy millions of people acquainted with a new organization.



HEADQUARTERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—ARRANGING
THE SECRETS OF THE CAMPAIGN.





A Complete History of All National Nominating Conventions.

It is not necessary to go very far back in our history to find the origin of our nominating conventions. The Constitution of the United States provided only for the election of the President and Vice-President, and the idea was that electors should be chosen by the people of the states, who would not only name the candidate but elect him to his high office. In the choice of our first President this idea was for the first and only time carried out, and without being nominated Washington was chosen President by the first Electoral College of the country. The number of electoral votes cast in 1789 was 69, all of which were cast for Washington. John Adams received the next highest number, 34, and was declared Vice-President. During the next four years the number of electoral votes increased very largely, being 132 at the second presidential election. All of these were cast for Washington, while John Adams received 77 votes for the vice-presidency. The retirement of Washington in 1796-7 opened the doors for a host of presidential candidates, there being no other man whom the people could unite on with so much unanimity. Upon opening the returns for the election of Washington's successor for the term beginning March 4, 1797, there were found to be no less than thirteen distinguished names among those voted for for the presidential office. These were John Adams, Jefferson, Thomas Pinckney, Burr, Samuel Adams, Ellsworth, Jay, Clinton, Johnstone, Iredell, Henry, C. C. Pinckney and Washington. At this election the number of electoral votes had increased to 139, of which John Adams received 71 and Thomas Jefferson the next highest number, 68.

1800.

The era of "republican simplicity" was now passing away. The gratitude that impelled the unanimous election of Washington was felt in regard to no other man, and the acknowledged leadership which put forward Adams and Jefferson as the two candidates in the third general election was no longer recognized. Hence the date 1800 became an era in our political history, as it was the time of the institution of the nominating caucus. This congressional caucus, which enjoys the honor of being the first, was held in Philadelphia during the year, and after a good deal of discussion resulted in the nomination of Jefferson for President and Burr for Vice-President. The presidential contest this year was between these two on one side and Adams and Pinckney on the other. The electoral vote was 138, and stood 73 each for Jefferson and Burr, 65 for Adams, 64 for Pinckney, and 1 for John Jay. No choice was made and the election went to the House of Representatives, which, after balloting thirty-six times, during six days, resulted in the election of Jefferson and Burr. In 1804 the contest lay between Jefferson and Pinckney for President and Clinton and King, both of New York, for Vice-President. Though there must have been a caucus nomination there is no record of such an event. The electoral vote was 176, of which Jefferson and King received 162 and Pinckney and Clinton 14.

1808.

Toward the close of Jefferson's administration the Legislature of Virginia fell into discord in regard to the respective claims of Madison and Monroe for the next presidential term and a Republican congressional caucus was held in Washington in January, 1808, to decide which should be nominated. There were 136 Republican members of Congress, of whom 94 attended the caucus and agreed to nominate Madison. No record exists of the manner in which the opposition made their nominations, but the opposing candidate was Pinckney. The electoral vote was 175, of which Madison received 122, Pinckney 47, and Clinton 6. The latter for Vice-President received 113 ballots, the scattering votes being divided among a number of rival aspirants.

1812.

In May, 1812, a congressional caucus nominated Madison for a second term. This year is, however, memorable for the first feeble attempt at a nominating convention. The opposi-

tion had been growing in strength and called a convention to meet in New York in September, 1812. Eleven states were represented at this first convention, and De Witt Clinton, of New York, was placed in nomination, a movement which received the warmest support from the Legislature of that state. The records do not show that any candidate for Vice-President was nominated at this convention. The election resulted in the choice of Madison. The electoral vote numbered 217, of which Madison, for President, received 128 and Clinton 89, while for Vice-President Gerry received 131 and Ingersoll 86. Madison entered upon his second term March 4, 1813, but there is no record of his having taken the oath of office.

1816.

In 1816, just before the close of Madison's second term, the Republican congressional caucus again met and nominated James Monroe for President. There were 119 votes in the caucus, of which Monroe received 65 and Crawford, of Georgia, 54. The opposition Federalists were considerably disorganized at this time, since no record exists of any nomination, though their ticket was represented by Rufus King, of New York. It hardly seems possible for a convention to have been held of which no records remain, and the more reasonable supposition is that King presented himself as a candidate at the request of his friends. His efforts were in vain, for he was badly beaten. The number of electoral votes cast at the election was 217, of which Monroe received 183 and King 34. The contest for Vice-President was more lively, as five candidates contested the election. Harper received 4 votes, Ross, 5, Marshall 4, Howard 22 and Tompkins 183.

1820.

In 1820 the Federalists were so much scattered and so unable to rally their forces that in effect no opposition was made to the nomination or election of Monroe to his second term. The electoral vote numbered 235, of which Monroe received 231 and John Quincy Adams received 1. As before, five men entered the lists for the vice-presidency. Harper and Rush each received 1 vote, Rodney 4, Stockton 8, and Tompkins 218.

1824.

In 1824 the caucus feature began to be very displeasing to the Republicans in general and great numbers of them gave previous notice that they would not be governed by

the dictates of the caucus. There were at this time 216 members of Congress who were counted as Republicans, yet the caucus which nominated Crawford was composed of only 66 members, and in consequence of the slim attendance and the non-concurrence of the party the nomination of Crawford was very generally repudiated by the Republicans. Three other candidates were brought into the field by legislative and popular nominations—Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay—while six nominations for the vice-presidency were made. The number of electoral votes in the contest of 1824 was 261, of which Jackson received 99, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37. For Vice-President Calhoun received 182 votes, Sandford 30, Macon 24, Jackson 31, Clay 9, and Van Buren 2. No election having been made, the contest went to the House of Representatives and Adams was elected by the vote of 13 states. This "scrub race," as it was called, put an end to the caucus system.

1828.

As soon as the contest of 1824 was decided the Legislature of Tennessee announced Jackson as a candidate for the next term. He was opposed by Adams, but no record exists as to the manner of the latter's nomination. Calhoun, Rush and Smith were candidates for the vice-presidency, but how they were designated as such is not known. The contest was a spirited one, and resulted in Jackson's election by a large majority. There were 261 electoral votes, of which Jackson received 178 and Adams 83. For Vice-President Calhoun received 171, Rush 83, and Smith 7.

1832.

We now come to what may properly be regarded as the convention period of American politics, which has continued down to the present time. The first regular national nominating convention of which any record can be found met in Philadelphia in September, 1830. It was called the United States Anti-Masonic convention, and was composed of 96 delegates, who represented New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Ohio, Maryland and Michigan territory. Francis Granger, of New York, was president, but no business was transacted except to issue a call for another convention of persons opposed to secret societies, to be held at Baltimore. In compliance with this call the national Anti-Masonic convention assembled at Baltimore September 26, 1831. There were 112 delegates present, every state being

represented, but only New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania had the full number of delegates allowed. This movement had its origin in the excitement caused by the alleged killing of Morgan for disclosing the secrets of Freemasonry. John C. Spencer, of New York, was chosen president. The convention nominated William Wirt, of Maryland, for President, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President.

In May, 1832, the first national Democratic convention was held in Baltimore. The party was entirely satisfied with Jackson, and there could be no organized opposition to his renomination, and so it was unanimously confirmed by the convention. The real purpose of the convention was the nomination of a vice-presidential candidate, the party having fallen out with Calhoun. At this convention Gen. Robert Lucas of Ohio presided, and the regular proceedings began with the adoption of the famous two-thirds rule, which has been affirmed in every national Democratic convention from that day to this. Delegates to the number of 313 were present. Martin Van Buren was nominated for Vice-President, receiving 208 votes.

The Republicans recognized the fact that conventions were to be the popular means for nomination of candidates, and accordingly met in convention at Baltimore December 12, 1831. James Barbour was chosen president. There were 157 delegates present, representing seventeen states and the District of Columbia. No formal declaration of principles was made, but an address was published dealing with the shortcomings of Gen. Jackson, in which he and his administration were severely criticised. The unanimous vote of the convention was cast for Henry Clay as the candidate for the presidency, and for John Sergeant for Vice-President. The address of the convention recommended another convention of "young men of the Republican party," and in pursuance thereof a convention was held May 11, 1832, in Washington. William C. Johnson was chairman, but as the nominations of the party had been made the preceding autumn nothing was left for the convention to do except to pass resolutions, which it did, in favor of industrial protection and internal improvements, and against the rotation-in-office principle lately promulgated by Jackson.

In the contest of 1832 there were twenty other candidates who ran without having regular party nominations. In the election the electoral votes numbered 288; for President, Wirt received 7, Floyd 11, Henry Clay 49, and Jackson 219. For Vice-President, Ellmaker received 7 votes, Lee 11, Wilkins 30, Sergeant 49, and Van Buren 189.

1836.

The years 1835 and 1836 saw the convention system fairly under way. There were two nominating conventions held. The Democratic national convention assembled in Baltimore in May, with representatives from twenty-one states. Andrew Stevenson presided, and for the first time there was a long list of honorary Vice-Presidents. Only one ballot for the presidential nomination was taken, which resulted in the unanimous choice of Martin Van Buren. The ballot for Vice-President resulted in 87 votes for Rives and 178 for R. M. Johnson. No platform was adopted by the convention.

A Whig state convention held in Harrisburg, Pa., in the latter part of 1835, by acclamation nominated William Henry Harrison and Francis Granger for the national ticket, and a Democratic Anti-Masonic convention held soon after in the same city ratified the nomination of Harrison, but substituted John Tyler in place of Granger for the vice-presidency. A number of other nominations were made by state Legislatures and other bodies, whose records have been lost. There were in all five candidates for President, and in the election Mangum received 11 votes, Webster 14, White 26, Harrison 73, and Van Buren 176. For Vice-President there were four candidates. Smith received 23 votes, Taylor 47, Granger 77, and Johnson 147.

1840.

The years 1839 and 1840 saw three conventions, the first of which was also the first Abolition convention ever held in the United States. Its session began at Warsaw, N. Y., November 13, 1839, and lasted several days. Distinct Abolition principles were announced in its platform and James G. Birney was nominated for President, Francis J. LeMoyne for Vice-President. Although these candidates declined the nominations, they received 7,609 votes in the Northern states.

The Whig national convention met at Harrisburg, Pa., December 4, 1839. Twenty-one states were represented by 254 delegates, and James Barbour presided. Balloting was carried on in the committee of the whole for several days, but no result was reached until the Scott delegates went over to Harrison. The first ballot in the convention resulted in 16 votes for Winfield Scott, 90 for Henry Clay, and 148 for William Henry Harrison. There was no contest over the vice-presidency, John Tyler being the unanimous choice of the convention.

The national Democratic convention assembled at Baltimore June 5, 1840. Delegates from twenty-one states were present and William Carroll presided. Van Buren was unanimously nominated for President, but when the question of Vice-President arose the dissension was so serious that no choice was made, but the designation of a candidate was left to the people. In this election the number of electoral votes was 294, of which Van Buren received 60 and Harrison 234. There were four candidates for Vice-President. Polk received 1 vote, Tazewell 11, Johnson 48, and Tyler 234.

1844.

The canvass of 1844 was preceded by three national conventions. The Liberal party national convention began at Buffalo, N. Y., August 30, 1843. It was virtually the Abolition party under a new name and adopted an extended declaration of belief embodying the principles of Abolitionism afterward openly expressed by the Republican party. Leicester King presided, and the nominees were James G. Birney for President and Thomas Morris for Vice-President.

The Whig national convention assembled at Baltimore, May 1, 1844, and was composed of delegates from every state in the Union. Ambrose Spencer was president and Henry Clay was nominated for President without a dissenting voice. The choice of a Vice-President was more difficult and three ballots were taken before a choice was made. On the last ballot Frelinghuysen received 155 votes, Davis 79, and Fillmore 40.

The Democratic national convention met in Baltimore, May 27, 1844. The two-thirds rule was responsible for the convention being a hot one. Nine ballots were taken, there being four candidates on the first. Of the votes cast Van Buren received 146, Cass 93, Johnson 29, and Buchanan 4. There was not much change in the balloting until the eighth, when Van Buren received 104, Cass 114, Buchanan 2, Calhoun 2, and Polk 44. This was the first ballot in which Polk's name was mentioned. On the ninth ballot Polk received 233 votes, Van Buren 2, and Cass 29. Silas Wright was nominated for Vice-President, but he declined, and George M. Dallas was substituted. The result was the election of Polk, he receiving 170 electoral votes and Clay 105.

1848.

Three conventions preceded the contest of this year. The Democratic convention was held in Baltimore, May 17, 1848. There was considerable trouble at the outset with

the credentials of the delegates who claimed recognition. New York sent two delegations, one commonly known as "barnburners" and the other as "hunkers." The convention sought to please all by admitting both, but neither delegation was satisfied unless the others were excluded, and accordingly both withdrew. Andrew Stevenson presided. Four ballots were taken, the candidates being Cass, Woodbury, Buchanan, Calhoun, Dallas, Worth and Butler. Cass began with 125 votes on the first ballot and ran up to 179 on the fourth, and was nominated. Three ballots were taken for Vice-President, on the first of which William O. Butler received 114 and Jefferson Davis 1, the remainder being scattered among several candidates. Butler gained on the second and was nominated on the third ballot. The "barnburners," who bolted the convention, were so incensed at the nomination of Cass and Butler that they called a convention at Utica, N. Y., June 22. Samuel Young presided, and Van Buren was made the nominee for President and Henry Dodge for Vice-President.

The Whig national convention met in Philadelphia June 7, 1848. John M. Morehead presided. The candidates were Taylor, Clay, Scott, Webster, Clayton and McLean, and four ballots were taken. The number of votes was 270, and on the last ballot Taylor, who had started with 111, received 171, and was declared the nominee. Fillmore was nominated on the second ballot for Vice-President.

August 9, 1848, a Free-Soil convention assembled at Buffalo, having representatives from eighteen States. Charles Francis Adams presided, and Van Buren and Adams were made the nominees of the convention. In a long platform the convention protested vigorously against the action of the Whig and Democratic conventions and demanded the freedom of the slaves in the style used later by the Abolitionists. Nothing came of the movement and Van Buren and Adams received no votes at the fall election. The electoral vote in 1848 was 290, of which Taylor secured 163, and Cass 127.

1852.

The campaign of 1852 was a spirited one and opened in a spirited way. The Democratic convention met in Baltimore June 1, and was presided over by John W. Davis of Indiana. There were ten candidates, and forty-nine ballots were taken before a candidate was nominated. The ballot sheet is called one of the greatest curiosities in American politics and is given complete on the following pages:

BALLOTS.	Cass.	Buchanan.	Douglas.	Marcy.	Butler.	Houston.	Dodge.	Lane.	Dickinson.	Pierce.
1.....	116	93	20	27	2	8	3	13	1	...
2.....	118	95	23	27	1	6	3	13	1	...
3.....	119	94	21	26	1	7	3	13	1	...
4.....	115	89	21	25	1	7	3	13	1	...
5.....	114	88	34	26	1	8	3	13	1	...
6.....	114	88	34	26	1	8	3	13	1	...
7.....	113	88	34	26	1	9	3	13	1	...
8.....	113	88	34	26	1	9	3	13	1	...
9.....	112	87	39	27	1	8	...	...	1	...
10.....	111	86	40	27	1	8	14	1	...	...
11.....	101	87	50	27	1	8	13	1	...	...
12.....	98	88	51	27	1	9	13	1	...	...
13.....	98	88	51	26	1	10	13	1	...	...
14.....	99	87	51	26	1	10	13	1	...	...
15.....	99	87	51	26	1	10	13	1	...	...
16.....	99	87	51	26	1	10	13	1	...	...
17.....	99	87	50	26	1	11	13	1	...	...
18.....	99	85	56	25	1	11	13	1	...	...
19.....	89	85	63	26	1	10	13	1	...	...
20.....	81	92	64	26	1	10	13	1	...	...
21.....	60	102	64	26	1	9	13	1	...	...
22.....	53	104	77	26	13	9	13	1	...	...
23.....	37	103	78	26	15	11	13	1	...	...
24.....	33	103	80	26	19	9	13	1	...	...
25.....	34	101	81	26	23	9	13	1	...	...
26.....	33	101	80	26	24	10	13	1	...	...
27.....	32	98	85	26	24	4	13	1	...	...
28.....	28	96	88	26	24	11	13	1	...	...
29.....	27	93	91	26	25	12	13	1	...	...
30.....	33	91	92	26	25	12	13	1	...	...
31.....	64	79	92	26	20	10	...	1	...	...
32.....	98	74	80	26	16	8	...	1	...	...
33.....	123	72	60	25	1	6	...	1	...	...
34.....	130	49	53	23	2	5	...	16	...	...
35.....	131	39	52	44	1	5	...	1	15	...
36.....	122	28	43	58	1	5	...	1	30	...
37.....	120	28	37	70	1	5	...	1	29	...
38.....	107	28	33	84	1	5	...	1	29	...
39.....	106	28	33	85	1	5	...	1	29	...
40.....	106	27	33	85	1	5	...	1	29	...
41.....	107	27	33	85	1	5	...	1	29	...

BALLOTS.	Cass.	Buchanan.	Douglas.	Marcy.	Butler.	Houston.	Dodge.	Lane.	Dickinson.	Pierce.
42.....	101	27	33	91	1	5	..	..	1	29
43.....	101	27	33	91	1	5	..	..	1	29
44.....	101	27	33	91	1	5	..	..	1	29
45.....	96	27	32	97	1	5	..	..	1	29
46.....	78	28	32	97	1	5	..	..	1	44
47.....	75	28	33	95	1	5	..	..	1	49
48.....	73	28	33	90	1	6	..	..	1	55
49.....	2	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	1	282

The persistence of the solitary voter who voted forty-eight times for Daniel S. Dickinson and the introduction of Franklin Pierce's name on the thirty-fifth ballot, which resulted in nomination on the forty-ninth, has no parallel in the history of American political conventions. William R. King was nominated on the second ballot for Vice-President.

The Whigs met at Baltimore June 16 and an uproarious session of six days followed. There were no sudden or startling changes, as in the Democratic convention, but the gain of the successful candidate was slow and gradual. The candidates were Scott, Webster and Fillmore, and the number necessary to a choice was 147. Scott began with 131 votes and increased his number slowly until the fifty-third ballot, when he had 159. Fillmore began with 133 and ended with 112. Webster began with 29 and ended with 21. William A. Graham was nominated on the second ballot for Vice-President.

The Free-Soil Democrats held their convention at Pittsburgh August 11, Henry Wilson presiding. All the free and several of the slave states were represented. John P. Hale and George W. Julian were nominated for President and Vice-President, respectively, but at the subsequent election received no electoral votes. The number of electoral votes was 296, and of these Pierce and King received 254, while Scott and Graham received only 42. In this contest Pierce and King carried all the states except Tennessee, Kentucky, Massachusetts and Vermont.

1856.

Four conventions were held in 1856. The first in order was that of the American National Council, which met in Philadelphia, February 19, and was presided over by E. B. Bartlett. Three days were spent in adopting a platform, which was mainly a "know-nothing," anti-administration declaration. A President was nominated on the first ballot, which stood: Fillmore 179, Law 24, Raynor 14, McLean 13, Davis 10, and Houston 10. Andrew J. Donelson was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot.

The Democrats met at Cincinnati June 2, John E. Ward presiding. Pro-slavery and state-rights resolutions of the strongest character were adopted and seventeen ballots were taken before a nomination was made. The candidates were Buchanan, Pierce, Cass and Douglas. Buchanan began with 135 votes and gained steadily to 296, a unanimous nomination. Pierce began with 122 and fell off gradually until the last ballot. Douglas began with 33 votes, rose to 121, and on the last ballot had $3\frac{1}{2}$ votes. The highest vote received by Cass was 7. Ten candidates sought the vice-presidential nomination, but on the second ballot all withdrew except Breckinridge, who was unanimously nominated.

The first Republican national convention assembled in Philadelphia June 17, Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, being chosen presiding officer. The platform was decidedly anti-slavery. An informal ballot for President was taken to test the preferences of the delegates, and showed 359 votes for John C. Fremont, against 196 for McLean. The nomination of Fremont was at once declared unanimous. An informal ballot for Vice-President was taken, which resulted as follows: Henry C. Carey received 3 votes, S. C. Pomeroy 8, John A. King 9, Henry Wilson 9, A. C. M. Pennington 1, N. P. Banks 46, W. F. Johnston 2, J. R. Giddings 2, Jacob Colamer 15, Cassius M. Clay 4, Charles Sumner 35, Thomas Ford 7, David Wilmot 43, Abraham Lincoln 110, and William L. Dayton 259. The latter was unanimously nominated, but this informal ballot will always be memorable as showing the popularity of Mr. Lincoln at this early day.

The Whigs met at Baltimore September 17, Edward Bates presiding. The platform deprecated the reign of strong partisan feeling and advocated peace and quiet. Fillmore and Donelson were unanimously nominated, but in the subsequent election carried only Maryland.

Of the 296 electoral votes Buchanan and Breckinridge received 174, Fremont and Dayton 114, and Fillmore and Donelson 8.

1860.

The year 1860 marks a new era in American politics and the conventions of this year show the great upheaval that had taken place in the minds of the people. An account of the conventions of this year is given more in detail for this reason. The national Democratic convention met at Charleston April 23. Every state in the Union was represented by full delegations, but the party dissensions in Illinois and New York caused the sending of two delegations from each of these states. Francis B. Flourney was chosen temporary chairman. The exclusion of the "Wood" delegation from New York and the admission of the Douglas delegation from Illinois inflamed the southern members of the convention at the very start, and much angry debate followed. Caleb Cushing was chosen permanent chairman and a platform committee was selected, it being insisted that a platform was necessary before a candidate was nominated. The platform committee wrangled four days and were unable to agree and accordingly four platforms were submitted to the convention from which to select one. The platform presented by the majority of the committee declared "that Congress had no power to abolish slavery in the territories; that the territorial Legislature had no power to abolish slavery in the territories, nor to prohibit the introduction of slavery therein, nor any power to destroy or impair the right of property in slaves by any legislation whatever;" and "that it is the duty of the Federal government to protect the rights of persons and property on the high seas, in the territories, or wherever else its jurisdiction extends." These ultra pro-slavery declarations were dissented from by others of the committee who, headed by Henry B. Payne, brought in a minority report, reaffirming the Cincinnati platform of 1856, which advocated the non-interference of Congress with slavery in the territories and declared that slavery was a question of property—as such should be decided by the Supreme Court—and pledged the Democracy to abide by the decision of that court. This minority report was signed by members of the committee from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, New York and Pennsylvania. A third report was presented by Gen. B. F. Butler, which indorsed the Cincinnati platform with some trivial alterations. A fourth report was presented by J. A. Bayard, which also affirmed the Cincinnati platform with the proviso that all citizens had equal rights in the territories. These reports were all sent back to the committee and on the next day

Mr. Avery brought in a modified platform from the majority. This asserted the rights of the slave-holders in the territories and when a sufficient number of inhabitants were in any territory, the same should be admitted as a state without taking the slavery question into consideration at all. The minority report was brought in by Mr. Samuels, of Iowa, and embodied the same measures that were urged by the three minority reports previously submitted. The majority report was adopted by the convention by a vote of 165 to 138. This action of the convention was bitterly resented by the Sothern delegates, and the delegation of Alabama offered a protest to the proceedings and afterward withdrew from the convention. The delegations from Florida, Mississippi and Texas followed the lead of Alabama. Parts of the delegations from Louisiana, South Carolina, Arkansas, Delaware and North Carolina also withdrew. After the withdrawal of these delegates, the convention proceeded to ballot for President. The full convention contained 303 members, but a large number had withdrawn, so that a two-thirds vote of 202 members would be difficult for any one candidate to secure. The two-thirds rule prevailed and the result was that no nomination was made at Charleston. Fifty-seven ballots were taken, however, the candidates being Douglas, Guthrie, Hunter, Dickinson, Andrew Johnson, Lane, Jefferson Davis, Toucy and Pierce. The candidate who had the highest vote was Douglas, who received 152½. The convention adjourned to meet at Baltimore on the 18th of June. At the appointed time full representations were present from all those states which had not withdrawn from the Charleston convention, and the delegations that had left that convention were excluded from this. Enraged at this exclusion of the seceding delegates the delegations from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, California and Delaware, together with portions of the delegations from Maryland, Kentucky, Massachusetts and Missouri retired from the convention. Mr. Cushing, the chairman, also retired, and Gen. Todd, of Ohio, was chosen in his place. Balloting for President began, Douglas, Breckinridge and Guthrie being placed in nomination. Two ballots were taken. On the first Breckinridge received 5, Guthrie 10 and Douglas 173½. On the second Guthrie received 5½, Breckinridge 7½ and Douglas 181½. After the second ballot Douglas was unanimously nominated. Fitzpatrick was nominated for Vice-President, but declined, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, was substituted.

The seceders from the Baltimore convention met in that city June 28. In all, twenty-one states were fully or in part represented, but there were no delegates from Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Carolina or Wisconsin. Caleb Cushing presided. The two-thirds rule was adopted and the delegates who had been refused admission to the regular convention were urged to unite with this body. The Avery platform, upon which the Charleston convention had split, was unanimously adopted. One ballot was taken for President, John C. Breckinridge receiving 105 votes, being the whole number of delegates present. Joseph Lane, of Oregon, was nominated on the first ballot for Vice-President.

The band of seceders from the Charleston convention met at Richmond June 11 and organized by choosing John Erwin as chairman. Delegates were present from Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, Tennessee and Virginia. This convention did nothing more than ratify the nominations of Breckinridge and Lane made by the Baltimore seceders.

A Constitutional Union convention was held at Baltimore May 9. It promulgated strictly Union and Constitutional principles. The candidates for President were John Bell, Sam Houston, John M. Butts, John McLean, J. J. Crittenden, Edward Everett, W. L. Goggin, W. A. Graham, W. L. Sharkey and W. C. Rives. Bell and Everett were unanimously nominated.

The Republican national convention met in Chicago May 16. It was called to order by David Wilmot and was composed of delegates from all the free states, together with representatives from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Kansas, Nebraska and Missouri. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, was chosen permanent chairman. The majority rule in nominating candidates was adopted. The platform adopted boldly declared the condition to which the country had been reduced was due to the continued years of Democratic rule, and promulgated Republican doctrines in regard to slavery in the territories. The eighth plank in the platform was specially directed against slavery and declared it to be a shameless institution and that it should not be spread in the territories of the United States. The candidates for President were many, including Seward, Lincoln, Wade, Cameron, Bates, McLean, Reade,

Chase, Dayton, Sumner, Fremont, Callamer and C. M. Clay.
The result of the balloting was as follows:

	1	2	3
Seward	173½	184½	180
Lincoln	102	181	231½
Wade	3	.....	.....
Cameron	50½	.....	.....
Bates	48	35	22
McLean	12	8	5
Reade	1	.....	.....
Chase	49	42½	24½
Dayton	14	10	1
Sumner	1	.....	.....
Fremont	1	.....	.....
Callamer	10	.....	.....
Clay .....	.....	2	1

After the third ballot Lincoln lacked only 2½ votes of a nomination. A change of 4 votes in Ohio from Chase to Lincoln made his nomination assured. Changes rapidly followed until the nomination was made unanimous. The balloting for Vice-President was:

	1	2
Clay	101½	86
Banks	38½	.....
Reeder	51	.....
Hickman	58	18
Hamlin	194	367
Read	1	.....
Davis	8	.....
Dayton	3	.....
Houston	6	.....

The whole number of electoral votes was 315, of which Lincoln and Hamlin received 180, Breckinridge and Lane 72, Bell and Everett 39, and Douglas and Johnson 12.

1864.

The war was in progress in 1864 and the nominating conventions were few and devoid of any interest except such as arose from the question of preservation of the Union.

The Republicans met in Baltimore June 7, William Denison, of Ohio, presiding.

There was a very full representation of delegates, many being admitted from the states actually in rebellion. The convention was unanimously in favor of Lincoln's renomination, and on the first ballot he received 497 votes, being the entire vote of the convention except 22 votes from Missouri, which were given to Gen. Grant. The Vice-Presidential candidates were Hamlin, L. H. Rosseau, D. S. Dickinson and Andrew Johnson. As the first ballot was taken every one perceived the great numerical strength of Johnson, and he was nominated on the first ballot.

The Democrats met in Chicago August 19. Horatio Seymour was the permanent president. The attendance of delegates was by no means full and little interest was manifested in the convention either by the people or the delegates. George B. McClellan was nominated for President on the first ballot, receiving 202½ votes, while Seymour received 23½. The candidates for Vice-President were Pendleton, Guthrie, D. W. Voorhees, G. W. Cass, August Dodge, J. D. Catron, Powell and Phelps. Before the second ballot all had withdrawn, leaving Mr. Pendleton a clear field, and he was nominated. The number of electoral votes was 831 and of these Lincoln and Johnson received 212 and McClellan and Pendleton 21.

1868.

The Republicans led off in the conventions of the year, meeting at Chicago May 20, with Gen. Hawley as presiding officer. There was only one sentiment in the party regarding a presidential candidate, and Gen. Grant received every vote in the convention on the first ballot. For the vice-presidency there was more difference of opinion. Colfax, Wade, Hamlin, Fenton, Wilson, Curtin, Kelly, Harlan, Pomeroy, Speid, and Cresswell all sought the nomination. Five ballots were taken, and Colfax was unanimously nominated on the fifth.

The Democrats met in the city of New York on July 4. Horatio Seymour presided. There were a large number of aspirants for the presidential nomination, including Han-

cock, Hendricks, Seymour, English, Doolittle, Johnson, Chase, McClellan, Field, Hoffman, Blair, and Pendleton. Twenty-two ballots were taken, and Seymour was nominated while seated in the chair guiding the deliberations of the convention. Frank P. Blair was nominated on the first ballot for Vice-President.

The number of electoral votes was 294, of which Grant and Colfax received 214, and Seymour and Blair 80.

1872.

The first convention of the year was that of the national Prohibition party. This party had been organized at a meeting called for that purpose at Chicago September 1, 1869. The name first adopted was the Anti-Dramshop party, but before the meeting adjourned the name was changed. The party convention met at Columbus, O., February 22, 1872. The Rev. John Russell called the convention to order; the Hon. Henry Fish was chosen temporary, and the Hon. S. P. Chase permanent chairman. The platform declared for prohibition in the sale of intoxicating liquors, and for suffrage without regard to "color, race, former social condition, sex, or nationality." The subject of nominations was referred to a committee of 13, who reported the name of James Black, of Pennsylvania, for President, and that of the Rev. John Russell, of Michigan, for Vice-President.

The chief interest, however, in the campaign of 1872 centered in the Liberal Republican movement. This movement originated in Missouri in 1870, its chief instigators being Carl Schurz and B. Gratz Brown. It consisted of moderate Democrats and disgruntled Republicans, who united in a state campaign in support of the "Liberal ticket." A mass state convention was called by the Republican wing of the party to meet at Jefferson City January 24, 1872, and at this meeting nearly every county in the state was represented. It closed its proceedings by issuing a call for a national convention at Cincinnati on the first Monday in May, "to take such action as their convictions of duty and of public exigencies may require." January 9 the Democratic State Central committee of Missouri issued an address favoring the making of no nominations in 1872, and the support of the candidate of the disaffected Republicans. On May 1 a large convention of Liberal Republicans assembled in Cincinnati, and organized by making Carl Schurz, of Missouri, the permanent chairman. A platform was adopted, which was believed to be broad enough to accommodate Democrats as well as Republicans. Without

the formal naming of candidates the balloting for President began. Six ballots were taken, with the following result:

BALLOTS.	C. F. Adams.	Horace Greeley.	Lyman Trumbull.	David Davis.	B. G. Brown.	A. G. Curtin.	S. P. Chase.	Charles Sumner.	John M. Palmer.
1.....	203	147	100	92½	95	62	2½	1	.....
2.....	233	239	148	81	2	.....	1	.....	.....
3.....	264	258	156	44	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
4.....	279	251	141	51	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
5.....	309	258	91	30	2	.....	24	.....	.....
6.....	324	332	19	6	.....	.....	32	.....	1

Before the sixth ballot was announced Minnesota changed 9 votes from Trumbull to Greeley; Pennsylvania changed her vote to 50 for Greeley and 6 for Davis; Indiana changed her 27 to Adams. Other changes followed, and the chairman announced the result as 482 for Greeley and 187 for Adams. For Vice-President B. Gratz Brown was nominated on the second ballot, receiving 495 against 175 for G. W. Julian; 75 for S. C. Walker; 3 for T. W. Tipton, and 8 for John M. Palmer. Many of the Liberal Republicans were dissatisfied with the nomination of Greeley, and a meeting was held in New York May 30, composed of such persons. In compliance with the views of this meeting a conference was subsequently held on June 20 of persons invited. The invitation to this conference was signed by Carl Schurz, Jacob D. Cox, William Cullen Bryant, Oswald Ottendorfer, David A. Wells, and Jacob Brinkerhoff. A series of resolutions was adopted, and William S. Groesbeck, of Ohio, was nominated for President, and F. L. Olmsted, of New York, for Vice-President. During the excitement of this canvass this ticket was lost sight of, and at the ensuing election received no votes.

The Republicans assembled in Philadelphia June 5. Morton McMichael was made the temporary, and Thomas Settle the permanent chairman. The demand of the party was unanimously for Gen. Grant for a second term, and he was renominated by acclamation. For the vice-presidency Henry Wilson received 364½ votes, to 312½ for Schuyler Colfax, and Mr. Wilson was nominated.

The Democrats met at Baltimore July 9, and were presided over by James R. Doolittle. Resolutions were adopted that were in harmony with the Cincinnati platform of the Liberal Republicans. There were 732 delegates in the convention, and the vote, in the nominating of a candidate for the presidency, stood as follows: Horace Greeley 686, James A. Bayard 15, Jeremiah Black 21, William S. Groesbeck 2, blank 8. Mr. Greeley received more than two-thirds, and was declared the nominee. B. Gratz Brown received 713 votes for Vice-President.

Some Democrats, who were opposed to the nomination of Greeley, met in Louisville September 3 to nominate a so-called "straight-out" Democratic ticket. The convention was called to order by Blanton Duncan, and James Lyons was made the permanent chairman. The platform declared that "we proclaim to the world that principle is to be preferred to power; that the Democratic party is held together by the cohesion of time-honored principles, which they will never surrender in exchange for all the offices which Presidents can confer. The pangs of the minorities are doubtless excruciating, but we welcome an eternal minority under the banner inscribed with our principles, rather than an almighty and everlasting majority purchased by their abandonment." Charles O'Connor, of New York, was nominated for the presidency, and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, for the vice-presidency. Mr. O'Connor persistently refused to be a candidate, and Mr. Adams consented only on the condition that Mr. O'Connor withdraw his declination. This was not done, and a small number of votes was given for the ticket in the country.

There were 349 votes in the Electoral College, of which Grant and Wilson received 286, Thomas A. Hendricks 42, B. Gratz Brown 18, Charles J. Jenkins 2, and David Davis 1. Mr. Greeley died after the election, and the Democrats scattered their votes.

1876.

Four tickets were in the field in the campaign of 1876. The National Prohibition Reform party assembled at Cleveland May 17. Over 100 delegates were present, representing the states of Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. The Rev. H. A. Thompson was permanent chairman. The Hon. Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, was nominated for President, and the Hon. G. T. Stewart, of Ohio, was nominated for Vice-President. At the ensuing election no electoral votes were cast for the nominees.

A convention of Independents, commonly called the National Greenback convention, assembled at Indianapolis May 17. Nineteen states were represented by 239 delegates. The platform demanded "the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Specie Resumption Act of January 14, 1875, and the rescue of our industries from the ruin and disaster resulting from its enforcement." Peter Cooper, of New York, was nominated for President, and Newton Booth, of California, for Vice-President. Mr. Booth subsequently declined, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, was substituted in his place. No electoral votes were given the candidates.

The Republicans met in Cincinnati June 14, and organized their convention by electing Edward McPherson chairman. There were a number of candidates for the presidential nomination, and seven ballots were taken, with the following result:

BALLOTS.	James G. Blaine.	B. H. Bristow.	Roscoe Conkling.	J. F. Hartranft.	M. Jewell.	O. P. Morton.	R. B. Hayes.	E. B. Washburne.	W. A. Wheeler.
1.....	285	113	99	58	11	124	61	.....	3
2.....	298	114	93	63	.....	111	64	1	3
3.....	293	121	90	68	.....	113	67	1	2
4.....	292	126	84	71	.....	108	68	3	2
5.....	286	114	82	69	.....	95	104	3	3
6.....	308	111	81	50	.....	85	113	4	2
7.....	351	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	384	.....	.....

William A. Wheeler was then nominated for Vice-President.

The Democratic national convention met in St. Louis June 28, and was organized by the choice of John A. McClernand as chairman. The platform was called the reform platform, because it proposed to reform all the alleged abuses which had grown up under the Republican rule. One of the planks denounced "the present tariff levied upon nearly 4,000 articles as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might

purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufacture at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture, an industry followed by half our people. * * * It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be for revenue only." There were 738 delegates. The vote for presidential candidate stood: First ballot, Samuel J. Tilden 404½, William Allen 54, A. G. Thurman 3, Thomas A. Hendricks 140½, T. F. Bayard 33, Joel Parker 18, W. S. Hancock 75, M. Broadhead, 16. The second ballot stood: Tilden 535, Allen 54, Thurman 2, Hendricks 85, Bayard 4, Hancock 58; necessary for a choice, 492. Mr. Hendricks was nominated for Vice-President.

There being a dispute over the electoral votes of Florida, Louisiana, Oregon and South Carolina, they were referred by Congress to an electoral commission, composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats, which, by a strict party vote, awarded 185 electoral votes to Hayes and Wheeler, and 184 to Tilden and Hendricks.

1880.

Gen. Grant returned to the United States from a trip around the world late in 1879. He had everywhere been received with a distinguished consideration that was gratifying to the pride of the American people. His return under these circumstances caused his name to be connected with the Republican nomination for the presidency for a third term. No sooner was this done than a strong opposition to his nomination appeared in the Republican party. So strong was this sentiment that a Republican Anti-Third Term convention was held in St. Louis on May 6, presided over by J. B. Henderson, at which strong resolutions were adopted opposing the nomination of Gen. Grant. In many states, notably New York, the sentiment in favor of Grant was equally prominent. The national convention met in Chicago June 2, and a six days' session followed. George F. Hoar was both temporary and permanent president of the convention. A long controversy ensued over the power of state conventions to name delegates from the congressional districts, and bind their action by instructions. Several days were spent in debating this question, and it was finally decided that state conventions had not the power to bind district delegates by instructions. This decision resulted in the loss of many votes for Gen. Grant.

The platform did not differ greatly from previous party utterances. The fifth plank, however, contained this sentence: "We affirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for purposes of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor." This was all that was said regarding a tariff. The first ballot for President was taken on the 7th, the fifth day of the convention, and before a nomination was made 36 ballots were necessary. The vote in detail was as follows:

BALLOT.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Washburne.	Windom.	Garfield.	BALLOT.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Washburne.	Windom.	Garfield.
1...	304	284	93	34	30	10	...	19...	305	279	96	31	32	10	1
2...	305	284	94	32	31	10	...	20...	308	276	93	31	35	10	1
3...	305	282	93	32	31	10	1	21...	305	276	96	31	35	10	1
4...	305	281	95	32	31	10	1	22...	305	275	97	31	35	10	1
5...	305	281	95	32	31	10	1	23...	304	275	97	31	36	10	2
6...	305	281	95	31	31	10	2	24...	305	279	93	31	35	10	2
7...	305	281	94	32	31	10	2	25...	302	281	94	31	35	10	2
8...	306	284	91	32	31	10	1	26...	303	280	93	31	36	10	2
9...	308	282	90	31	32	10	2	27...	306	277	93	31	36	10	2
10...	305	282	92	31	32	10	2	28...	307	279	91	31	35	10	2
11...	305	281	93	31	32	10	2	29...	305	278	116	12	35	7	2
12...	304	283	92	31	33	10	1	30...	307	279	118	11	33	4	1
13...	305	285	89	31	33	10	1	31...	308	276	118	11	37	3	1
14...	305	285	89	31	35	10	...	32...	309	270	119	11	35	3	1
15...	309	281	88	31	36	10	...	33...	309	276	110	11	44	4	1
16...	306	283	88	31	36	10	...	34...	312	275	107	11	30	4	17
17...	303	284	90	31	36	10	...	35...	313	257	99	11	23	3	50
18...	305	283	91	31	35	10	...	36...	307	42	3...	5...	...	...	399

Besides these 1 vote was cast for Harrison on the third ballot, 1 for Hayes on each of the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth ballots, 1 for McCrary on the thirteenth and 1 for Hartranft on each of the nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first and twenty-second ballots. Chester A. Arthur was nominated on the first ballot for Vice-President.

The Greenback or National Greenback-Labor party took an active part in the canvass, its convention being held at Chicago on the 9th of June. The first ballot for a presidential candidate was informal and resulted as follows: James B. Weaver 224½, Herrick B. Wright 126½, Stephen B. Dillage 119, B. F. Butler 95, Solon Chase 89, E. P. Ahls

41, and Alexander Campbell 21. By a change of votes before a result was announced Gen. Weaver was unanimously nominated. Gen. James B. Chambers was nominated for Vice-President.

The Prohibitionists met at Cleveland June 17. The number of delegates present was 142. The Rev. A. A. Miner was chosen permanent chairman. Neal Dow, of Maine, and A. H. Thompson, of Ohio, were nominated for President and Vice-President by a rising vote.

The Democratic convention was held at Cincinnati June 22. It was expected that Mr. Tilden would be the nominee, but two days prior to the meeting of the convention he published a letter withdrawing his name. Gen. Stevenson was chosen permanent chairman. The platform declared for "no sumptuary laws, separation of church and state, common schools fostered and protected, home rule, honest money, consistency of gold and silver and paper convertible into coin on demand, the strict maintenance of the public faith, state and national, and a tariff for revenue only." Three ballots were taken, resulting as follows:

	1	2	3		1	2	3
Hancock ..	171	320	705	English ...	1	19	....
Hendricks..	49½	31	30	Morrison..	62	....	....
Bayard....	153½	111	2	Seymour ..	8	....	....
Tilden.....	38	6	1	Payne.....	81	....	....
Thurman..	68½	50	....	Ewing.....	10	....	....
Field	65	65½	....	McClellan.	3	....	....
Randall...	6	128½	....			

William H. English was chosen for Vice-President on the first ballot.

The result of the election was: Garfield and Arthur 214 electoral votes and Hancock and English 155 electoral votes.

1884.

The Republican national convention met in Chicago June 3. John B. Henderson was chosen permanent chairman. The platform was reported by William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, and contained the first declaration in favor of a protective tariff ever made by the party. It was as follows:

"It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general

prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity."

The balloting for a presidential candidate followed the adoption of the platform and resulted as follows:

	1	2	3	4
James G. Blaine.....	334½	349	375	541
Chester A. Arthur.....	278	276	274	207
G. F. Edmunds.....	93	85	69	41
John A. Logan.....	63½	61	53	7
John Sherman.....	30	28	25	.....
J. R. Hawley.....	13	13	13	15
Robert T. Lincoln.....	4	4	8	2
W. T. Sherman.....	2	2	2	.....

Gen. Logan was nominated for Vice-President without opposition.

The Democrats met in Chicago July 8, William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, being the presiding officer. The platform stated: "We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the pending limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes and shall not exceed the needs of the government economically administered." The platform was very long. Gen. Butler submitted a minority report, which was a formal and explicit declaration in favor of a protective tariff, but the report was rejected by a vote of 97½ yeas to 714½ nays. Two ballots were taken for presidential nominee, which stood as follows:

	1	2		1	2
Grover Cleveland.....	392	683	J. G. Carlisle....	27	.....
T. F. Bayard.....	170	81½	George Hoadly.....	3	.....
Joseph McDonald.....	56	2	T. A. Hendricks.....	1	45½
S. J. Randall.....	78	4	S. J. Tilden.....	1	.....
A. G. Thurman.....	88	4	R. P. Flower....	4	.....

Mr. Hendricks was nominated for Vice-President.

The Prohibition convention assembled at Pittsburg July 23, there being 416 accredited delegates present from thirty-one states and territories. Samuel Dickie, of Michigan, was chosen permanent chairman. John P. St. John, of Kansas, was nominated for President and William Daniel, of Maryland, for Vice-President. The platform demanded prohibition in the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, the ballot for women, and arraigned both the old parties for the ills that beset the people.

A national convention of the Anti-Monopoly party met in Chicago May 14 and nominated Benjamin F. Butler for President. The national Greenback-Labor party met at Indianapolis May 27, and was presided over by Gen. J. B. Weaver. Gen. Butler was asked if he would accept the presidential nomination from the party, and, responding in the affirmative, he was nominated on the first ballot. Absalom M. West was selected for the vice-presidency. The platform favored substituting greenbacks for national bank notes, the destruction of "land, railroad, money and other gigantic corporate monopolies," and favored raising the revenues by duties on luxuries. The Electoral College had 401 votes, of which Cleveland and Hendricks received 219, and Blaine and Logan 182.

1888.

The Democratic convention met in St. Louis June 5, and organized with Patrick A. Collins for permanent chairman. For some time before the meeting the renomination of Mr. Cleveland was conceded, and the only interest centered in the vice-presidency. For the second office only two names were before the convention—Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana, and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio. Mr. Thurman was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 690 votes to 105 for Mr. Gray and 25 for John C. Black, of Illinois.

The Republicans met at Chicago June 19. In the early part of the year it seemed probable that Mr. Blaine would be the nominee of the convention, but on the 12th of February, in a letter addressed by him to B. F. Jones, dated in Florence, he said that as personal reasons would prevent him from entering the contest, his name "would not be presented to the convention." No serious efforts had been made in behalf of any candidate except John Sherman, whose nomination had been urged by the Ohio state convention in July, 1887. After the letter of Mr. Blaine other state conventions recommended the nomination of "favorite

sons." May 30 Mr. Blaine wrote another letter in which he said that he could not accept the nomination without showing bad faith toward those candidates who, relying on his former letter, were already in the field, and therefore he could not accept at all. The convention organized by choosing John M. Thurston temporary and M. Estee for permanent chairman. The platform was presented on the third day. On the tariff the platform said: "We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained." Eight ballots were taken in nominating a presidential candidate, as follows:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Alger	84	116	122	135	143	137	120	100
Depew	99	99	91	...	...	...	...	...
Gresham	107	108	113	98	87	91	91	59
Hawley	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Phelps	25	18	5	...	...	...	...	...
Sherman	329	249	244	235	224	244	230	118
Lincoln	3	2	...	1	...	...	2	...
Allison	72	75	78	88	99	73	76	...
Fittler	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Harrison	85	91	94	216	212	231	279	544
Ingalls	28	16	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rusk	25	20	18	...	...	...	...	...
Blaine	35	33	35	42	48	40	15	5
McKinley	2	3	8	11	...	12	16	4
Foraker .....	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Douglas .....	...	...	...	1	14	...	...	...

The vice-presidency went to Levi P. Morton on the first ballot.

The Prohibitionists met at Indianapolis May 30 and organized by choosing H. C. Delano for temporary and Gen. St. John for permanent chairman. Gen. Clinton B. Fisk was nominated for President and John A. Brooks for Vice-President. Considerable discussion arose over the platform, especially upon the subject of woman suffrage, which was decided in favor of unlimited suffrage.

The United Labor party held its convention May 15, at Cincinnati, 274 delegates being present. This party was formed February 22, 1887, at a convention held in the same city, to which delegates had been invited from the labor and farmer organizations, including Knights of Labor, Wheelers, the Corn-growers, the Homesteadry, Farmers' Alliances, Greenbackers and Grangers. The convention nominated A. J. Streeter, of Illinois, for President and C. E. Cunningham, of Arkansas, for Vice-President. The platform, after reciting the hardships of farmers and laborers, declared against land monopoly, for government ownership of railroads, postal savings banks, free coinage of silver, arbitration in strike disputes, a service pension bill, a graduated income tax, popular election of senators, exclusion of the Chinese, and female suffrage.

The Union Labor convention was held in Cincinnati May 16. The party was made up from the Greenbackers, farmers' organizations and other labor reformers. The convention consisted of 90 delegates, representing nine states. Robert H. Cowdrey, of Illinois, was nominated for President and W. H. T. Wakefield, of Kansas for Vice-President. The platform demanded public ownership of land, taxing of land according to value instead of area, government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, reduction in hours of labor, simplification of court proceedings, and denounced both the old parties as "hopelessly and shamelessly corrupt."

The national convention of the American party was held at Washington August 14, 126 delegates being present, more than half of whom were from New York. The opposition to the dictation of New York led to the withdrawal of 25 delegates from other states. James L. Curtis, of New York, was nominated for President and James R. Greer, of Tennessee, for Vice-President. The platform demanded full citizenship as a qualification for voting, a protective tariff, restriction of immigration, repeal of naturalization laws, and denial of the right of aliens to hold real estate.

Several minor conventions were held during the year. The first of these was the industrial reform convention held at Washington, February 22, which nominated Albert E. Redstone, of California, for President, and John Colvin, of Kansas, for Vice-President. The new party had no support at the polls and cut no figure in politics. The national equal rights party was another political nonentity. It held a convention at Des Moines, Ia., May 15, and nominated Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, for President, and A. H. Love, for Vice-President. Mr. Love declined and Charles S.

Wells was substituted. A demand for woman suffrage and equal rights of man and woman was the only important feature of the platform. The greenbackers met at Cincinnati, September 12, but as only eight delegates were present, no nominations were made. There were 401 votes in the Electoral College, and of these Harrison and Morton received 233 and Cleveland and Thurman 168.

1892.

The Republicans led off in the conventions of 1892, meeting at Minneapolis, June 7. J. Sloat Fassett was chosen temporary and William McKinley permanent chairman. Preceding the convention the exciting question had been as to whether Mr. Blaine would accept the nomination if tendered him. He had previously addressed a note to Mr. Clarkson saying his name would not go before the convention, but his friends declared he would accept the nomination if tendered to him. There was no other name mentioned for the nomination except that of Mr. Harrison. Mr. Blaine's resignation of the secretaryship of state was deemed to answer the question of his acceptance in the affirmative. A question arose early in the convention which settled the strength of the two factions. Two reports from the committee of credentials were presented. The Harrison men favored the majority report, the Blaine men the minority report, the former of which was adopted. The platform reaffirmed the doctrine of ultraprotection and will be found complete among the national platforms. President Harrison was nominated on the first ballot, 905 votes being cast; of these Harrison had 535 1-6, McKinley 182, Blaine 181 5-6, Reid 4, and Lincoln 1.

The Democrats met in Chicago June 21. W. C. Owens was made temporary and W. L. Wilson permanent chairman. The convention was in many respects a peculiar one in the history of party meetings. It was evident before the convention that Mr. Cleveland was the choice for a large majority of the rank and file of the Democratic party and that he was opposed by the politicians of his party, the bitterest opposition to him being in his own state. The regular delegation from that state was unanimous for David B. Hill's nomination and in favor of any candidate to beat Cleveland. Only one vote was taken in the convention. The number of delegates was 910. The vote stood: Cleveland 617 $\frac{1}{2}$, Boies 103, Hill 114, Gorman 36 $\frac{1}{2}$, Carlisle 14, Stevenson 16 $\frac{3}{4}$, Morrison 3, Campbell 2, Russell 1, Whitney 1, and Pattison 1. The vote on Vice-President stood:

Stevenson 402, Gray 343, Mitchell 45, Morse 86, Watterson 26, Cockran 5, Tree 1, and Boies 1.

The Prohibitionists met at Cincinnati June 29. Gov. St. John was temporary and Eli Ritter was permanent chairman. The important question before the convention was that of fusion with some of the new parties, but the idea met with no favor. Gen. John Bidwell was nominated on the first ballot, the vote standing: Bidwell 590, Demorest 139, Stewart 179. The vote for vice-presidential candidate stood: Cranfill 886, Levering 880, Satterlee 26, Carskadon 21. Before the vote was announced enough changes were made to give Cranfill 416, or nine more than enough. Bidwell and Cranfill were declared the nominees of the party.

The People's Party convention met at Omaha July 4. The permanent chairman was H. L. Loucks, of South Dakota. Only one ballot was taken for President and was as follows: Weaver 995, Kyle 265. J. G. Field was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot.

A convention of Socialists was held in New York August 28. The nominee for President was Simon Wing, of Massachusetts, and for Vice-President Charles H. Matchett, of New York.

1896.

The first nominating convention was held by the prohibitionists, May 27, at Pittsburg. For some time there had been difference of opinion concerning the platform. The narrow-gaugers, as they were called, demanded that prohibition be the one and only issue recognized in the platform. The broad-gaugers just as emphatically protested and insisted that free silver, woman's suffrage, and other questions be included. In the adoption of the platform the question of free silver was paramount to every other. The vote on the free silver plank was 387 for and 427 against. After the rejection of this plank the convention adopted a substitute in which prohibition was the only question recognized. Joshua Levering, of Maryland, was nominated for president and Hale Johnson, of Illinois, for vice-president. Mr. Samuel Dickie was selected chairman of the National Committee. A number of the free silver delegates with Governor St. John as their leader left the convention and organized the "National Party," of which Rev. C. E. Bentley of Nebraska, was the nominee for president and J. H. Southgate of North Carolina, for vice-president.

The Eleventh National Convention of the Republican party was held at St. Louis, June 16th. This was the first Republican convention held west of the Mississippi, and the first held in a state that has always been certainly Democratic. The pre-eminent plank in the platform is the money plank. A gold standard was adopted by a vote of 818½ to 110½. The platform declared for moderate protection. The vote for candidate was as follows: McKinley, 661½; Reed, 84½; Morton, 58; Quay, 61½; Allison, 85½.

Garret Hobart was nominated as Vice-President. Immediately after the adoption of the currency plank Senator Teller, of Colorado, made a statement defining the position of the silver delegates, whereupon he and thirty-three other delegates left the convention. Senator Teller was one of the founders of the Republican party, served as senator for a number of terms, and was respected even by those who differed from him. His speech before the convention is described as an affecting one, tears rolling down his cheeks as he bade his party good-bye.

Mr. McKinley's nomination was universally approved and received with much enthusiasm throughout the country. Mr. Mark Hanna, who managed Mr. McKinley's canvass, was appointed Chairman of the National Committee.

Before the meeting of the Democratic Convention in Chicago, July 7th, it was known that the silver men had more than a majority. Some of the silver delegates urged the nomination of Senator Teller, who recently bolted the Republican party, while others opposed the measure. Chairman Harrity called the convention to order and by direction of the National Committee reported Senator Hill, of New York, for temporary chairman. The silver men were too anxious for victory to permit a "gold man," as they termed him, to be even temporary chairman, and nominated John W. Daniel as temporary chairman.

No appeal on the part of the gold standard men for chivalrous, courteous, judicious treatment on the part of the majority, no pleading not to violate tradition, no concession, would satisfy the majority. Daniel was elected by a vote of 556 to 349, Senator Hill not voting. It was very evident from the first that the gold men had no rights which the silver men were inclined to respect. The silver men seemed to be intoxicated by their victory, and no eloquent pleadings could prevent them from seating their delegates in contested cases. Stephen White, of California, was chosen permanent chairman. The platform declared for free silver. Eloquent speeches were delivered on both sides. The gold democrats charged gallantly upon the

convention. The silver men stood firmly to their guns. W. J. Bryan, an ex-Congressman from Nebraska, in closing a masterly address in favor of free silver said, "We answer the demands for a gold standard by saying you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." The most dramatic scene in the history of the convention ensued. Mr. Bryan became the man of the hour and stood in the front rank of the possible presidential candidates. The platform adopted satisfied the most radical of silver men.

A number of delegations where the gold men were in the majority concluded not to bolt the convention, but to abstain from voting for candidates. The result of the ballots is as follows:

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
Bland.....	233	281	291	241	Campbell.....	2	..	..	..
Bates.....	86	37	36	53	Russell.....	2	..	..	..
Matthews.....	37	34	34	36	Stevenson.....	2	10	9	..
McLean.....	54	53	54	46	Tillman.....	17	..	..	..
Bryan.....	105	197	219	280	Hill.....	1	1	1	..
Blackburn.....	83	4	27	..	Teller.....	8	8	..	..
Pattison.....	95	100	97	..	Absent and not				
Fenoyer.....	10	8	..	..	voting.....	185	100	102	162

Before the fifth ballot was completed the McLean and Bland men, realizing the inevitable, withdrew the names of their respective candidates, and in the midst of a storm of wild enthusiasm Bryan was unanimously nominated. Arthur Sewall, of Maine, was nominated for Vice-President.

William E. Russell, who had been elected governor of Massachusetts for three times and who stood in the front ranks of the Democracy of New England, made an earnest protest against the adoption of the silver platform. The following week he died very suddenly, although not yet forty years old. As this was his last speech we here give extracts from it.

Mr. Chairman and Members of this Convention: I have but one word to say. The time is past for debate upon the merits of this issue. I am conscious, painfully conscious, that the mind of this convention is not and has not been open to argument and reason. I know that the will of its great majority, which has seen fit to override precedent, to trample down rights, to attack the sovereignty of states, is to be rigidly enforced, I know that an appeal even will fall upon deaf ears. There is but one thing left to us, and that, the voice of protest, and that voice I raise, not in bitterness, not questioning the sincerity, the honesty, of any Democrat; that voice I utter with a feeling of infinite sorrow. And, mark me, my friends, the country, our country, if not this

convention, will listen to our protest. I speak for one of the smallest states of this Union; not great in territory or population; not prominent in her material resources, but glorious in her history; great in her character, in her loyalty to truth, in her devotion to principle and duty, and in the sacrifices she has willingly made for independence, liberty, and our country. That state has taught us, her children, to place principle above expediency; courage above time-serving, and patriotism above party. And in the cause of justice and of right not to flinch, no matter how great the majority or how overbearing may be its demands.

We did not think that we should live to see the time when these great Democratic principles which have triumphed over Republicanism should be forgotten in a Democratic convention, and we should be invited under new and radical leadership to a new and radical policy; that we should be asked to give up vital principles for which we have labored and suffered—repudiate Democratic platforms and administrations, and at the demands of a section urging expediency, be asked to adopt a policy which many of us believe invites peril to our country and disaster to our party.

"Oh, that from this great majority, with its power, there might come the one word of concession and conciliation! Oh, that from you there might be held out the olive branch of peace, under which all Democrats united could rally to a great victory."

The Populists met at St. Louis, July 24, and after many very exciting scenes, nominated Wm. J. Bryan, for President, and Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for Vice President.

The financial question was uppermost, although Coxey and others attempted to press their different hobbies to the front.

The Political Landslides of American History.

1. **Changes in Controlling Party.**—It sometimes occurs that a party that has been put in power of the government by a decided majority, is overturned at the next election by as great or even greater majorities. The result is called a "landslide."

2. **Not Uncommon in Our History.**—Although the word is new in that sense the thing itself has not been uncommon

in our history. Jefferson was elected by a narrow majority in 1800. Four years later three states only gave electoral votes against him.

3. **Election of President by the House of Representatives.**—In 1824 the country was so closely divided that the election of the President was thrown into the House of Representatives. In 1828 more than five-sixths of the electoral votes outside of New England were for Jackson. The Harrison campaign of 1840 was followed by a memorable "landslide." No less than nine states which Van Buren had carried in 1836 voted for Harrison.

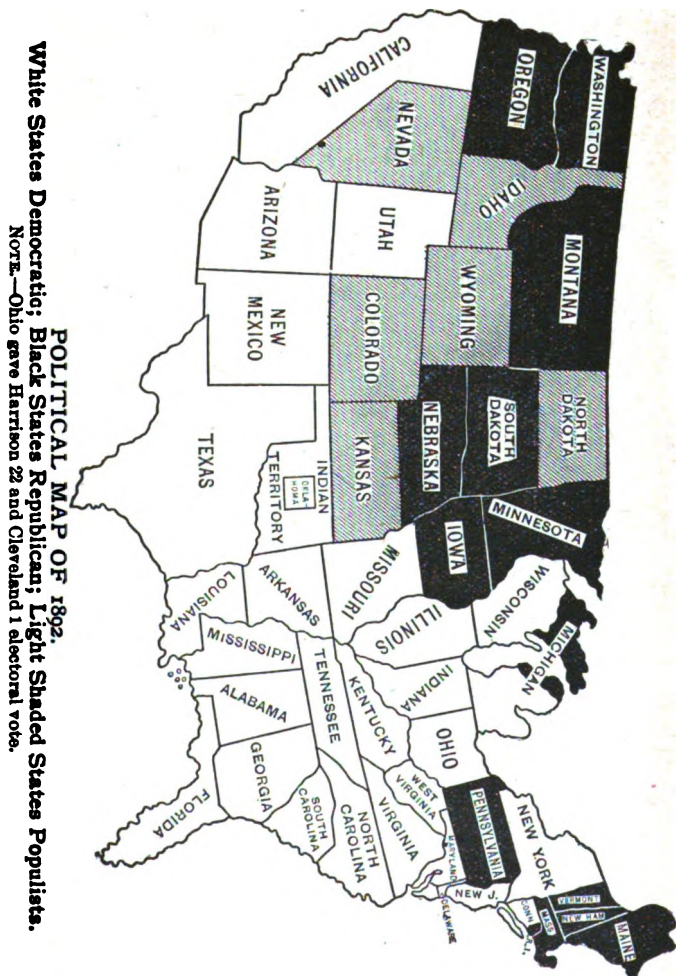
4. **General Taylor.**—General Taylor was elected by the Whigs in 1848 by a large plurality on the popular vote and by a majority of thirty-six of the electors. In 1852 Franklin Pierce, the Democratic candidate, had nearly a quarter of a million plurality of popular votes, and carried all the states but four. The vote of the electors was more than six to one in his favor.

5. **General Grant.**—Coming to more recent times. General Grant was elected President for a second term in 1872 by a popular majority of more than three-quarters of a million votes, and carried thirty of the thirty-seven states. In 1874 the Democrats were everywhere successful, and carried the House of Representatives by a large majority.

6. **Great Change.**—Then, in 1888, Harrison was elected President by sixty-five majority of the electoral votes; but in 1890 the Democrats carried Congress by almost three to one. The House of Representatives, elected in 1892, contained a Democratic majority of about eighty, and that which was elected in 1894 is controlled by the Republicans by a majority of one hundred and thirty-three.

7. **The November Election of 1894.**—The November election of 1894 resulted in an overwhelming Republican victory. Throughout the North the Republicans carried the states usually classed as doubtful by decided majorities; those which rank as Republican states gave majorities so enormous as to be compared with those only which were given during and just after the Civil war. In some cases the majorities were the largest ever recorded for the party.

8. **In the South.**—In the South the Democrats were much more successful than in the North. But even there large inroads were made upon their majorities, and one or two states gave Republican majorities for the first time since the days of "Reconstruction."





NO THANKSGIVING HERE—1892.

Farmer Ben: "Great gosh, the turkey's gone!"

The Landslide of 1892.

Each party has its own explanation of the event. Each having in its time experienced both reverses and victories, understands that what now seems a most emphatic popular verdict may be reversed at the very next election.

9. Not Good for the Country.—No one can think that the sudden and violent party changes to which the country is subject are conducive to its political health and its material prosperity; nevertheless we must expect them to occur occasionally.

10. Changes of Political Issues.—Changes of political issues, and the conditions incident to a large and increasing foreign element in the population, have something to do in producing them. The caprice of a large number of men who are not sufficiently well instructed to have decided views on the great financial questions upon which parties are now divided, cause the most of the shifting of votes from one side to the other.

A black and white illustration by E. W. Cope depicting a chaotic scene inside a room. In the foreground, a large rectangular table stands on four legs. Underneath the table, two men are crawling; one is on the left, and another is in the center. To the right of the table, a man is crawling on all fours towards the right edge of the frame. In the background, a group of men are gathered near a doorway or window. One man is running towards the right, another is running away from the viewer, and a third is running towards the window. A top hat lies on the floor in the foreground. The illustration is signed 'E. W. COPE' in the bottom right corner.

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The Spoils System in American Politics.

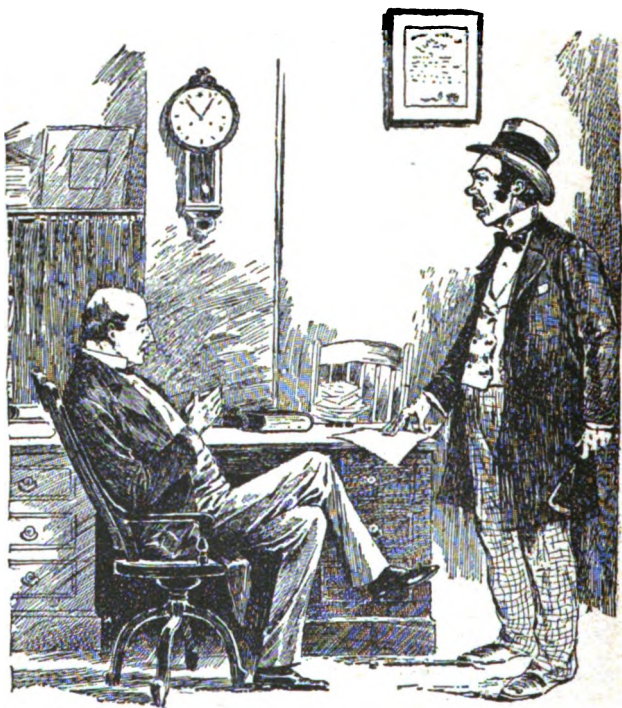
The election of officers is secured by the united action of the voters—not all the voters. Hence the persons elected ordinarily feel indebted to certain active men of the community and if they do not do all in their power as a public officer to reward their supporters, they are looked upon as ungrateful. Thus has grown up a system of vassalage, or a feudal tenure of office. In this way, after parties have come into power, their ability to dispose of patronage acts as a cement to keep the party together.

1. **Loaves and Fishes.**—As soon as a party succeeds in electing its candidate to office there are plenty within its ranks to look about for loaves and fishes. And the more power the officer has to distribute good things by creating or filling vacancies in minor offices, the more he is besieged and the more likely he is to serve his party rather than the

2. **The Curse of National Politics.**—How absurd it is to drag national politics into local elections; to elect a mayor because he favors tariff reform or to defeat a candidate for people in the administration of his office. The result of the spoils system is that many elections, involving no policy of government except the honesty and ability of the candidates, degenerate into desperate struggles between members of two parties for a means of livelihood. In any consideration of the spoils system it is important to examine its cloak.

constable because he thinks the national government should enter upon the free coinage of silver. Such a practice cannot be excused except from a party standpoint. For it can see but two motives: first, the securing of office and patronage as spoils and, second, the holding of voters together so that they can be relied upon when national issues do arise.

In this way many a person who would be the choice of the people to perform the duties of an office has been defeated, much to the detriment of the public service. The existence of these facts indicates a weakness in our election machinery which should not be overlooked by the voters of this free land of ours.



The Ward Heeler Demanding a Contribution for Political Purposes.

3. Bribery and Corruption.—By the use of the Australian system of voting, the danger of bribery and corruption in elections has been overcome to a considerable extent. The secrecy enforced in voting is the point of safety.



BEFORE ELECTION.
The Politician is Pleased to See Mr. Jones.



AFTER ELECTION—PAYING THE ELECTION BETS.

By that simple device the would-be purchaser of a vote is deprived of the means of absolute certainty that the vender of a vote voted according to contract. But, notwithstanding the secrecy incident to voting, practical politicians assert that many votes are still bought. Probably the instruments now most conducive to the purchase and sale of votes are the separate party ballots and the paster ballot. But as these are already in much disfavor, it is to be hoped they will soon disappear.

4. **Trading Votes.**—"If you will vote my ticket for mayor, I will vote your ticket for governor." How often is such a proposition made and accepted between voters of good standing in the community, but of opposite politics! Such a transaction does not come within the statute relating to bribery; but I do not believe it can be defended from an ethical point of view. If as is generally conceded, the state can rightfully claim that it is the duty of citizens to vote, it necessarily follows that each voter is under obligations to pass upon each matter according to his best judgment. What would be thought of a judge if he should announce that he would decide a certain case upon the merits of some other? If judges cannot properly trade decisions, voters should not trade votes.

5. **Parties as They are Managed.**—Parties go on contending because their members have formed a habit of joint action, and have contracted hatred and prejudices and also because the leaders find it to their advantage in using these habits and playing upon these prejudices. The American parties continue to exist because they have existed. The mill has been constructed and the machinery goes on turning, even where there is no grist to grind. But this is not wholly the fault of the men, for the system of government requires parties just as that of England does. These systems are made to be worked, and always have been worked by a majority. The majority must be cohesive, gathered into a united and organized body. Such a body is a party.

6. **The Political Boss.**—"The evil to be remedied is the dictation of the political boss. As parties are now constituted, nominations are made, not by the community or any considerable portion of it, but by a single man, who for the time being is in control of the party machine. No man can hold office except by the consent of such a boss, and when rebelled against it means defeat. I know of no remedy for this state of things because the public stand idly by and permit the dictation, and seem rather to enjoy the results of it. Education and intelligence have always been put forward as the proper antidotes for political evils, but my

observation leads me to think that the educated portion of the community is more apt to follow the machine than any other portion of it, because the uneducated can be purchased, while the enlightened are probably beyond the reach of that temptation."

7. **The Remedy.**—In order to make effective the remedy it seems to be necessary for citizens to devote not only a considerable portion of their time, but to do so in an employment which is not congenial to their tastes. That it is the duty of each citizen to give a reasonable amount of his time and to expend a reasonable amount of energy in securing proper nominations to public office all will admit. Each citizen undoubtedly owes this duty to the state, and owing to this duty to the state, the state in turn is obligated to furnish him with the means whereby the time and energy which duty requires him to give shall be expended in a manner that shall make his efforts felt in the result. It cannot justly require him to give up a large portion of his time and require him to study and practice what has become a profession in order that his influence shall be felt in making nominations. The state has also a duty to the citizen growing out of the fact that it prints the ballots. It should see to it that the names of candidates which it prints upon the ballots to be cast by the voter are not chosen through fraud and trickery. As it is useless for a single individual to go to the polls without prior organization in the hope of electing an independent candidate to office, it is the duty of the state to see to it that the organizations among voters, so far as they operate to place candidates in nomination, conform to fair and reasonable rules.



The Politicians Fixing up a Ticket.

Filibustering or Legislative Obstructions.

1. **There are Many Good Things** in the law-making powers of our national government, and there are many things that can be greatly improved.

2. **Party Prejudices.**—When a party is in power it should have the right to make laws without serious legislative obstruction. The people have placed their representatives in power to make the laws and will hold them responsible. But the system of American politics is greatly in error as to the rights of the minority. The minority in our legislative bodies instead of recognizing the rights of a majority, do everything possible to defeat or obstruct legislation. If the majority has the right to rule, no minority has a right to obstruct or embarrass their work. If the people elect the majority to make laws, the minority has no right whatever to defeat the will of the people.

3. **Obstruction.**—All minorities practice obstruction more or less, and it is not easy to draw the line between proper and improper use of this weapon of defense. Men are apt to approve its use when it is employed by their own party friends, and to condemn it when used by the opposite party.

4. **The Right of Petition.**—On several occasions, half a century ago, John Quincy Adams stood almost or quite alone in the House of Representatives maintaining the right of petition, and defying the majority to silence him. He once forced his opponents to abandon an attempt to pass a resolution of censure against him, by occupying nearly a week of the session in a speech of defence. Indeed, he seemed unlikely to close his "few remarks" in time to allow any business to be done. Perhaps in so doing he performed a useful service which could have been performed in no other way. At all events, those who admire "the old man eloquent" praise and do not censure him for his unyielding course of obstruction.

5. **Gag.**—There may be a question if, when the "gag" is applied by an arbitrary majority in disregard to all rights of debate, it is not justifiable to continue obstruction long enough to attract public attention to the matter; since in such a case that is the only method of protest left.

6. **Long Continued Obstruction.**—But, on a broad view of the subject, long continued obstruction is to be condemned severely, whether it is practiced by our friends or by our

opponents. Of course an arbitrary refusal of the majority to allow the minority reasonable time for debate is equally to be condemned.

7. **Determined Minority.**—It has been shown by the recent events that a determined minority may block the business of the Senate indefinitely. It was only when the minority became divided on the policy of obstruction, and a few only were disposed to continue the struggle, that a vote was reached.

8. **Majority Should Govern.**—Since it is the business of a Legislature to pass laws, and since in every free nation the majority should govern, it is simply common sense to say that a system of rules which permits a minority to frustrate the will of the majority is not a good system. This is neither a partial nor a partisan opinion. If it works against one party to-day it will work in that party's favor when it obtains a majority.

9. **The Caucus.**—The caucus is an American institution, and is unknown outside of the United States, except in a modified form in England and Canada. The nominating convention, made up of delegates chosen in primary party meetings, does not exist except in this country. And while parties are known all over the world, it is only in some parts of this country that they have a recognized standing. In Massachusetts, and perhaps in other states, party caucuses are conducted according to a specific act, and the law protects those who have rights in a party meeting from those who, without right, might try to control it.

10. **Popular Initiative.**—We can hardly suppose that the machinery of government has even yet been perfected. There is a proposition to introduce here the systems in vogue in Switzerland known as the referendum and the "popular initiative." By the first of these systems a law passed by the Legislature is, under certain circumstances, referred to popular vote. Of course a law ratified by the people has more force and is less liable to repeal than one not ratified.

11. **Decision of the People.**—The "popular initiative" gives to a certain number of voters asking for it the right to demand a popular vote upon a law. In Switzerland, when thirty thousand citizens petition for a vote upon the revision of the law, such a vote must be had, and the decision of the people is final. Fifty thousand citizens may require a popular vote throughout the republic upon a proposition to amend the Constitution. The principle of the popular initiative has always been a part of the New England town meeting system, but has never extended beyond it even to the county government.

12. Improvement.—And if those two principles should be adopted by and by, are we even then at the end? Certainly not. Let us suggest one direction in which an improvement may come. There seems to be no good reason why, in these days of quick communication, voting should not be done by mail instead of by the personal presence of the voter at the polls. Vast harm is done because men entitled to vote cannot do so or will not take the trouble. It will be easy to devise a system that will render voting by mail safe to the great advantage of good government.

Gerrymandering and its Effects Upon Legislation.

1. Provisions of State Constitutions.—The constitutions of states of the Union usually fix the number of members to be chosen for the state Legislature. But it is left with the Legislature itself to divide the state into districts, in each of which the voters shall elect one or more members.

Since population will naturally increase more rapidly in some parts of a state than in others, it follows that the districts must be changed from time to time in order that each member of the Legislature may represent, as nearly as possible, the same number of voters.

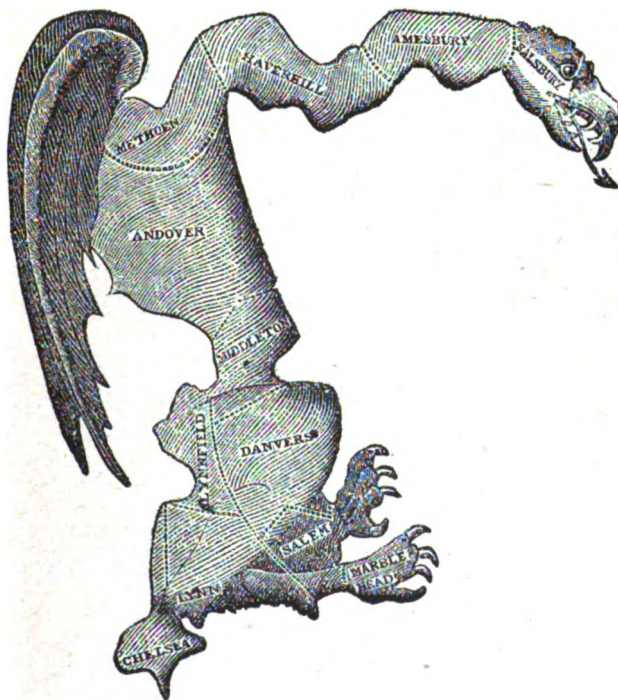
2. Contiguous Territory.—No rule is made in the State constitution as to the method of mapping out the districts. Most states require that all districts shall be fixed inside of county lines, and that a single district be made up of "contiguous" territory. Otherwise the Legislature may draw up the district map as it pleases. It was long ago discovered that this power might be turned to partisan use. Some sections or neighborhoods will always cast a large majority for one party, when close at hand there may be sections which invariably give a majority to the other party.

3. Injustice to the Voters.—Now if the Democrats, for example, can combine into one district as many sure Republican neighborhoods as possible, and then arrange the neighboring districts so that in each district there shall be just enough Democratic voters to counterbalance the Republicans in the same district, it is clear that the Democrats will have the advantage. The Republicans might carry the first district by 10,000 majority, and the Democrats get only 1,000 majority in each of three other districts. The Republicans would cast more votes, but the Democrats would elect more members, and thus control the state legislation. If then a Legislature making a new "apportionment" of the state is strongly partisan, it has an opportunity to take advantage for its party for the ensuing elections.



—GERRYMANDERING.—
Figuring Out the Other Fellows.

4. **Origin of the Name.**—This practice is known as "gerrymandering" a state, and the origin of the name is curious. As long ago as 1811, the Democratic majority in the Massachusetts Legislature passed a law "redistricting" the state for senators, with very irregular district boundaries. The governor who signed the bill was Elbridge Gerry. One district in Essex County stretched from Boston to the New Hampshire boundary.



FIRST GERRYMANDER DISTRICT.

Eastern Massachusetts.

Gilbert Stuart, the famous painter, sketched on the map the outline of the district, and added eyes and claws to the figure, so that it seemed like the picture of a strange winged beast.

"It looks," said Stuart to a Boston editor, "like a salamander."

"Salamander!" cried the editor; "call it Gerrymander!" and Gerrymander it has been called from that day to this.

5. Many Famous Cases.—There have been many famous cases of unjust gerrymandering, where states have been so divided as to elect the officers of one party, when the other had a large majority of the total vote. Both political parties have in turn taken advantage of the expedient and an unfair division of a state by one party has often been followed, when the control of the Legislature changed, by an equally unjust "redistricting" in favor of the other side.

States such as Ohio and New York, where neither party is permanently in control, have had their district map altered at most frequent intervals and in the most remarkable way. The famous "Shoestring" congressional district of Mississippi was a thin strip of territory reaching from the north to the south boundary of the state.

6. Unfair Gerrymandering.—By some politicians gerrymandering is regarded as a perfectly fair means of securing partisan advantage. But the better class of political leaders do not hesitate to denounce it.

Unfair Gerrymandering, moreover, has lately received a severe blow from the courts. In Wisconsin the party in power had passed a law dividing the state, irrespective of county lines, so as to make apparently sure for themselves a permanent majority. But the Supreme Court of the state declared the law unconstitutional, because the state constitution makes a restriction on the general method of forming the districts by requiring that county lines be followed.

The Legislature might cut a county into congressional districts on any plan it chose, but it could not combine into one district voters situated in two different counties. Fortunately for fair elections a large proportion of the state constitutions contain precisely this useful limitation.

First Administration.

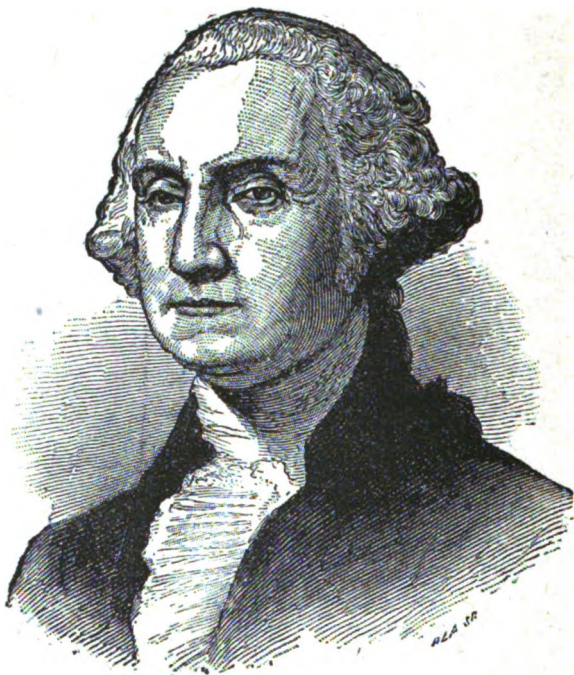
POLITICAL ISSUES AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

1. **The First Cabinet.**—Washington appointed for his Cabinet, Alexander Hamilton for the Treasury Department; General Henry Knox for the War Department; and John Jay for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, all of whom were Federalists. Thomas Jefferson was appointed Secretary of State, and Edmund Randolph for Attorney General, both of whom were Anti-Federalists.

2. **The First Extra Session of Congress.**—During an extra session of Congress, called for pressing business, ten amendments to the Constitution were made, the chief design of which was to vouchsafe broader principles of freedom than the Federal party had conceded or even intended; freedom not having been guaranteed by the original wording of this instrument, all of which, in the estimation of the Anti-Federalists were necessary, as a safe guard against monarchy. An act regulating commerce and a tariff bill were passed at this session; the latter being barely sufficient for a revenue, though it was ostensibly for protection as well.

3. **First Regular Session.**—The next regular Congress met at Philadelphia, March 4, 1790. It was the first regular session, and began the work of bringing the elements of a nation into practical working order. The financial question was the most important issue to meet. The debts due France must be paid in full. The domestic debt was also equally binding on the honor of the nation, but besides these were the debts due various other States.

The Burden of Debt.—How to provide for the liquidation of these was a difficult thing, and seemed to set at defiance the doctrine of state rights, so dearly prized by the Anti-Federalists. If the United States assumed them, it was taking business out of the State that had contracted them. The Federalists were in favor of the United States assuming the responsibility of these debts regardless of the state rights doctrine. The Anti-Federalists would not consent to this, but the issue was finally decided by two Anti-Federalists deserting their party and voting on the other side, which arbitrarily settled a question that had come as a necessity and no other way for whose solution seemed possible, though done by what was termed a loose construction of the binding forces of the Constitution, which could hardly be con-



GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, February 22, 1732

President April 30, 1789-March 4, 1797.

Died at Mt. Vernon, Virginia, December 14, 1799.

sidered in any other light than a violation of that sacred instrument, but it was claimed that the end justified the means, and the best apology for it was that it partook of the necessities characteristic of war measures to practically control the States, though unconstitutionally, in order to do justice to them.

After this terms "loose constructionists" and "strict constitutioners" came into party lines.

5. **The Third Session of Congress. Increase of the Tariff. Locating the Capitol. Charter of a United States Bank.**—The third session of Congress met at Philadelphia December 6, 1790. During this session Vermont and Kentucky were admitted into the Union. A bill for a slight increase of the tariff on distilled spirits was passed, also provisions made for locating the capitol on the Potomac, and another bill for the charter of a United States bank, capital of \$10,000, \$2,000 of which were to be subscribed for by the United States. All these were federal measures, but had not been tenaciously opposed by the other party, who by this time had become more reconciled to centralized power, which had wrought visible improvements in the financial interests of the country, besides increased respect for us abroad.

6. **Washington Unanimously Re-elected.**—Washington's impartial position secured the Anti-Federalists' support for a second term, and they agreed to give their unanimous support to him for re-election, but each party had its own separate candidate for Vice-President, the Federalists choosing John Adams, and the Anti-Federalists, or Republicans, as their party had begun to be called, George Clinton. Washington's vote was unanimous. Adams had 77 votes, Clinton 50, Jefferson 4, and Aaron Burr 1. Washington and Adams were inaugurated March 4, 1793.



THE FATHER OF OUR COUNTRY.

Second Administration.

THE RISE AND RAGE OF POLITICAL ISSUES.

1. **A General Feeling of Confidence.**—At the opening of this administration there was a general feeling of confidence in the stability of the constitutional form of government just adopted, and what gratified all parties the most and added to the strength of the Federal party, was the fact that the prophesying of a Conservative press in England, that there was not material in America out of which to construct a permanent government had been proven false by the auspicious beginning already made in the adoption of the constitution, an arrangement which our enemies in England had pronounced impossible. "The forces to govern a nation must be inherited" said the English Tory press, but to be just to the crown officials it should not be omitted that no offensive prophecies were made by them, whatever opinions they might have on this subject.

2. **The Public Debt.**—But though the political skies seemed bright, the public debt had been funded and provision made for liquidating it, yet there were significant evidences of party friction which needed critical but charitable attention from the administration, and it was a fortunate thing that no extreme partisan had been elevated to the office of President, to fill the chair during the second administration when the strong arm of conservatism, tempered with the spirit of both justice and charity, was so necessary, in order to set the sails of the ship of state to ride the high seas of nationalism. Washington was the best man to do this, and it is only a fair inference to conceive that the Anti-Federalists supported him for President, not because they entirely approved of his policy, but under a conviction that he would take no radical steps that might endanger the general cause.

3. **The Critical Condition.**—The critical condition of the political outlook at this time may be inferred from a passage in a letter to Washington from Mr. Randolph, the Attorney General, during the first administration. He says: "It can not have escaped you that decisions in our politics as systematically as those which prevail in Great Britain, such as opposed the Constitution from a hatred of the Union, can never be conciliated by any overture or atonement. By others it is mediated to push the construction of the Federal power to every tenable extreme."

4. **A Fatal Error.**—A third class, Republican in principle, and thus far in my judgment happy in their discern-

ment of our welfare, have notwithstanding mingled with their doctrine a fatal error that the State Assemblies are to be resorted to as the engines of correction to the Federal administration. The animadversions between Hamilton and Jefferson at this time perhaps justified the apprehensions of Mr. Randolph, but Washington wrote letters to both of them which had the effect to pour oil on the troubled waters, giving offense to neither party.

5. **English Complications.**—Pending these dangers at home, clouds were gathering in the eastern horizon from over the waves that, happily for America, diverted attention from home issues that time was bound to settle more amiably than could be done during the present existence of personal resentment. England entered on her road to grandeur on the high seas. Here was her realm, tenable only by maintaining her superiority over other nations, and controlling the laws of trade for the world. America, as yet, had no right on the ocean, she wished to find a market for her produce, and to do this a commercial treaty with England was the only channel through which this desirable end could be attained. Hitherto England, the arbiter of the ocean, would not allow an American vessel to sail with merchandise to any port than her own, and the hapless monger in American goods had to pay English merchants a profit on all foreign exportations.

6. **A Commercial Treaty with England.**—The first necessity was a commercial treaty with England, for which end Washington sent John Jay to the Court of St. James.

England had already had abundant evidence of Mr. Jay's culture in diplomacy at the treaty of Paris, and he was received with becoming respect. A treaty was made with no unnecessary delay, recognizing certain rights to American commerce, among which was direct trade with the East Indies, but the assumed right of search and impressment of American seamen was not given up. England exercising the business of this aggressive policy by the pretense that the seamen she took from American decks, were deserters from her naval force.

7. **The Treaty.**—Washington did not hesitate to ratify the treaty, notwithstanding this omission, and the Anti-Federalists thereby gained great strength, for the general dissatisfaction as to the so-called "ignominious" result of the treaty was almost universal. The Federal party did not attempt to justify this omission in the treaty, but took the ground that it was the only way to escape a war with England, for which the country was illy prepared.

Even in this day many people condemn the policy of

Washington in ratifying a treaty with no redress for such a humiliation in it. How much more, then, would it fall short of the demand of the old revolutionary soldiers. The Republicans saw this and made the most of it. Added to the rest, much popular indignation, owing to the demand of Genet, the first minister sent to represent the new French Republic, had been manifested among the commoner element of the Anti-Federalists, but Jefferson took no part in this sentiment, because Genet had abused his rights as a minister by enlisting men for the French service and then obliged the administration to give him his passport, even in violation of the popular verdict.

8. *The Opposition.*—At the head and front of the opposition to the Federalists stood Thomas Jefferson. He had opposed the banking policy and other Federal measures, whenever they, in his estimation, unnecessarily abridged either individual or state rights.

His letter to Monroe, dated Monticello, June 12, 1796, is inserted here to show his position at that time:

MONTICELLO, June 12 1796.

TO COLONEL MONROE,

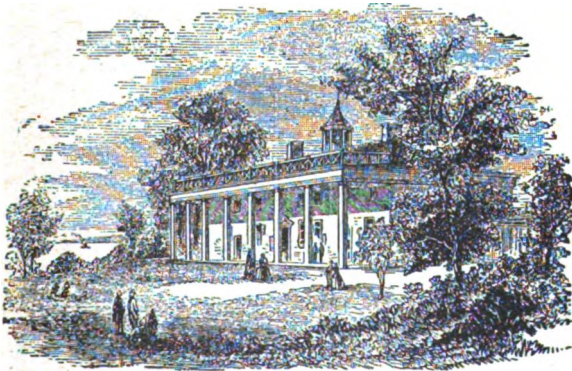
Dear Sir: Congress has risen. You will have seen by their proceedings the truth of what I always observed to you, that one man outweighs them all in influence over the people who have supported his judgment against their own and that of their representatives. Republicanism must lie on its oars, resign the vessel to its pilot, and themselves to the course he thinks best for them. I had always conjectured from such facts as I could get hold of that our public debt was increasing about a million of dollars a year. You will see by Gallatin's speeches that the thing is proved. You will see further that we are completely saddled and bridled, and that the bank is so firmly mounted on us that we must go where they will guide. They openly published a resolution that, the national property being increased in value, they must by an increase of circulating medium furnish an adequate representation of it, and by further additions of active capital promote the enterprises of our merchants. It is supposed that the paper in circulation in and around Philadelphia amounts to twenty millions of dollars, and that in the whole Union to one hundred millions. I think the last too high. All the imported commodities are raised about 50 per cent. by the depreciation of the money. Tobacco shares the rise, because it has no competition abroad. Wheat has been extraordinarily high

from other causes. When these cease it must fall to its ancient nominal price, notwithstanding the depreciation of that, because it must contend in markets with foreign wheats. Lands have risen within the vortex of the paper and as far out as that can influence. They have not risen at all here. On the contrary, they are lower than they were twenty years ago. Those I had mentiqued to you, to wit, Carter's and Colle, were sold before your letter came, Colle at two dollars the acre. Carter's had been offered me for two French crowns (13s. 2d.). Mechanics here get from a dollar to a dollar and a half a day, yet are much worse off than at the old prices.

Volney is with me at present. He is on his way to Illinois. Some late appointments, judiciary and diplomatic, you will have heard, and stared at. The death of R. Jouett is the only small news in our neighborhood.

Our best affections attend Mrs. Monroe, Eliza and yourself. Adieu affectionately,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.



MT. VERNON,
The Home of George Washington.

9. A Partisan Campaign.—The second term of Washington was now drawing to a close, and in the popular heart there seemed to be a dread of inaugurating a partisan campaign in the next Presidential election, and Washington was urged by the moderate men of both parties to ac-

cept the nomination for a third term. This he declined, and on September 17, 1793, issued his famous farewell address.

The bitterness manifested in the attacks upon Washington by his political opponents was his incentive to writing this address. To these attacks he made no reply, giving as a reason that they were too illogical to merit one, but he intended his farewell address to be a general answer to the accusations against him.

At that early date no provision had been made for making presidential nominations, but John Adams was the true representative of the Federal party, second only to Washington; and the popular voice confirmed him as candidate for President, and Thomas Pickney was the Federal candidate for Vice-President for the same reason.

10. **John Adams Elected.**—Thomas Jefferson was the true ideal of Republicanism, and next to him was Aaron Burr. These men had earned the confidence of the new party, the former by his master mind together with his zeal in the cause of freedom, and the latter by his equally acknowledged zeal, if not by his executive ability.

The election took place in November, 1796. In the Electoral College 71 votes were cast for Adams, 68 for Jefferson, 59 for Pickney and 30 for Burr and 2 for Washington.

Jefferson having the next highest number of votes to Adams, was the Vice-President elect, while Adams was President.

The two were sworn into office March 4, 1797.

Third Administration.

THE RISE AND RAGE OF NEW POLITICAL ISSUES.

1. **The Most Stalwart Federalists.**—The election of Adams, one of the most stalwart Federalists of the party in the face of so many unpopular issues that the Federalists had taken against the Republicans, was looked upon as a triumph of conservatism over radicalism, and his administration was marked with decision begotten of confidence,



JOHN ADAMS,

Born at Braintree (now Quincy), Norfolk County, Mass.,

October 19, 1735.

President March 4, 1797-March 4, 1801.

Died at Braintree, July 4, 1821.

but not more than was needed to meet the foreign emergencies about to come before America.

2. **French Revolution.**—The success of the American Revolution had inspired the French to undertake one with the same end in view, and however justifiable this attempt might be, it was the misfortune of France that the inflammable material that gave the momentum to her lacked the restraining influence that characterized the American statesmen, and even the conscience of the common citizen.

The American Revolution astonished the world by the wisdom and moderation of its demands; while the French Revolution shocked its sense of mortality, by its horrors and its sacrilegious disregard of all divine sentiments. But by a miracle of courage and zeal, it had succeeded in establishing a Republic on the ruins of a dynasty, that fell under the recoil of crushed liberty, asserting the rights of nature in man.

3. **Trouble with France.**—On assuming the responsibility of President, Mr. Adams was confronted with unfriendly, not to say hostile, words and acts from France by way of retaliation for asking France to recall Genet for his alleged abuse of his prerogatives as minister to the United States. The French government refused to receive our minister, annulled our treaty of 1778 with them, and their cruisers forced our vessels into French ports on the ground that they carried munitions of war for their enemies.

It was an unhappy state of affairs that we were then placed in; a hostile attitude toward the nation whose alliance had been instrumental in securing independence for us, but our apology for it lies in the fact that it was not the nation that we opposed, but an extreme faction of that that now held a transient lease of power. As might be supposed, there was a strong element of sympathy with the French among the Republicans of America, and to this day there are many who would not approve of the heroic treatment of this foreign issue by Mr. Adams. It is no far-fetched deduction that Jay's treaty with the English was an offense to France and an infringement on the spirit of our treaty of alliance with that nation of 1778, which was still in force.

4. **Acts of Aggression on American Commerce.**—November 13, 1797, the Republican members voted against a bill for arming vessels to defend American commerce from French spoliation. But Mr. Adams disregarded their views. In the meantime, the French continued their acts of aggression on American commerce; but when the possibility of war came the Republicans were enforced to acqui-

esce in the defensive policy of the administration, even if war should result. To this end appropriations were made to raise an army and equip a fleet to be used against France, should diplomacy prove unavailing in the settlement of the unfriendliness which Genet's official acts in the United States had created between the Red Republicans of France and the Federal party in the United States.

5. **Sympathy with France.**—Notwithstanding this, Democratic clubs used their utmost influence to oppose the administration by appealing to the chivalric sentiment of the country based on gratitude toward France for past services during the revolution, and it cannot be denied that their argument touched a sympathetic chord in the heart of young America, brimful of patriotism. These clubs had been established in the United States by Genet in his untempered zeal in the revolutionary cause of France, and that their design was to reverse the Federal policy and bring the country into alliance with the French seemed probable.

6. **The Alien and Sedition Laws.**—This supposed danger was the cause incentive to the alien and sedition laws, giving the President power to banish from the country any one whom he considered dangerous to the peace, or to fine and imprison such persons as should be supposed guilty of conspiring together to oppose any measure of the Government.

It is no marvel that the Republicans opposed this bill and made it the occasion of renewing their charges of despotism against the Federalists, for such a stretch of authority injured the Federal cause, but was soon offset by the Republicans passing the Virginia, and soon afterward the Kentucky resolution, which although they were passed by but two state Legislatures, the whole Republican party were responsible for them. These resolutions held that the alien and sedition laws were unconstitutional, and that the states ought not to be bound by them, and that they set the National Government at defiance by holding up the supremacy of the states.

7. **The Part Taken by Genet in America.**—The part taken by Genet in America, though justified by his patriotic zeal for the cause of his country was impracticable. To undo what he begun here was the excuse for the Alien and Sedition Laws, though far fetched as is claimed. His recall was not a partisan measure, but to undo his insidious work. As soon as the French saw the true situation in America, it was apparent to them that there was no issue between the two nations, but between the Jacobins of France and the Federal administration. The former were not crushed

in the fall, Robespierre and France made overtures of peace to America, much to the satisfaction of every class, and resulted in a treaty called "The Convention of 1800."

8. **Decline of the Power of the Federalists' Power.**—The Federalist party, now near its downfall, had brought the American Revolution through all the dangers that had threatened it, and united the nation under a constitution, not as a popular measure, but perforce of logical arguments, to overcome the objections of sticklers for state rights. It was incarnation of regal dignity, far exceeding it in moral force and executive ability; especially diplomacy, as history proves.

Some of the leading men were undecided in their choice between a monarchical or republican government, but the great body of them were uncompromising Republicans in principle. Albeit their sun set in a halo of glory, when the transcendent power of Young America, now casting off his swaddling clothes, as personified by the Republican party, took the helm.

9. **A Hot Presidential Contest.**—For the next presidential candidates, the Federalists nominated Mr. Adams for a second term, and C. C. Pickney, of South Carolina, for Vice-President. The Republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson, the present Vice-President, and Aaron Burr of New York for Vice-President. The popular election was very evenly balanced, and but for a quarrel between Mr. Adams and Mr. Hamilton might have gone in favor of the Federalists. There were for Jefferson 73, for Aaron Burr 73, for Adams 65, for Pickney 64, and for Jay 1, votes in the electoral college in the succeeding February.

10. **First Election by the House of Representatives.**—No single candidate having a higher number of votes than any other, there was no choice and the election went to the House of Representatives, where ten States voted for Jefferson and four for Burr and two voted blank, after six days' balloting. This elected Jefferson President and Burr for Vice-President, who were sworn into office on the 4th of March following.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Born at Shadwell, Albemarle County, Va., April 2, 1743.

President March 4, 1801-March 4, 1809.

Died at Monticello, Va., July 4, 1826.

Fourth Administration.

**OUR HEROIC AGE AS A NATION.—THE RISE AND
REIGN OF A NEW PARTY.—THE SETTLEMENT
OF OLD QUESTIONS AND THE RISE OF
NEW ISSUES.**

1. The First Republican President.—The election of a Republican President was a rebuke to the old Federal party, who beheld in Jefferson an able captain at the head of a popular element which might lead the country into excesses in Democracy, inconsistent with the dignity of the governing power, as well as the best interests of the nation.

2. Cause of Distrust.—Another cause of distrust in Jefferson among the Federalists grew from an impression that he was an advocate of the doctrines of Thomas Paine on religious questions, but these objections soon disappeared under the overshadowing influence of other minds. The VIIth Congress assembled. Political parties were at first nearly equally divided in the Senate, but eventually there was a majority for the administration. Jefferson then discontinued the custom established by Washington of delivering in person his message to Congress.

3. Uniform System of Naturalization.—This Congress, pursuant to the recommendation of the President, established a uniform system of naturalization, and so modified the law as to make the required residence of aliens five years, instead of fourteen, as in the act of 1798, and to permit a declaration of intention to become a citizen at the expiration of three years.

4. First Sinking Fund.—By his recommendation also was established the first sinking fund for the redemption of the public debt. It required the setting apart annually for this purpose the sum of \$7,800,000.

5. First Law in Relation to the Slave Trade.—At this session the first law in relation to the slave trade was passed. It was to prevent the importation of negroes, mulattoes, and other persons of color into any part of the United States, within a state which had prohibited by the law the admission of any such person. The penalty was \$1,000 and the forfeiture of the vessel.

6. The Slave Trade Was not then Prohibited by the Constitution.—The slave trade was not then prohibited by the Constitution nor was the subject then generally agitated, though it had been as early as 1793, when, as previously stated, an exciting sectional debate followed the presentation of a petition from Pennsylvania to abolish the slave trade.

7. The Purchase and Admission of Louisiana.—Probably the most important occurrence under the first administration of Jefferson was that relating to the purchase and admission of Louisiana. There had been apprehensions of a war with Spain, and with a view to be ready, Congress had passed an act authorizing the President to call the executives of such of the states as he might deem expedient, for detachments of militia not exceeding 80,000, or to accept the services of volunteers for a term of twelve months. The disagreement arose over the southwestern boundary line and the right of navigation of the Missis-

issippi. Our government learned in the spring of 1802 that Spain had, by a secret treaty made in October, 1800, actually ceded Louisiana to France. Our government had, in 1795 made a treaty with Spain which governed the right of deposit at New Orleans for three years, but in October 1802, the Spanish authorities gave notice by proclamation that this right was withdrawn. Excitement followed all along the Valley of the Mississippi and it was increased by the belief that the withdrawal of the privilege was made at the suggestion of France, though Spain still retained the territory as the formalities of ceding it had not been gone through with. Jefferson promptly took the ground that if France took possession of New Orleans, the United States would immediately become allies of England, but suggested to Mr. Livingston at Paris, that France might be induced to cede the island of New Orleans and the Floridas to the United States. It was his belief, though a mistaken one, that France had also acquired the Floridas.

8. **An Aggressive War Against Jefferson's Administration.**—The Federalists in Congress seized upon this question as one upon which they could make an aggressive war against Jefferson's administration, and resolutions were introduced asking information on the subject. Jefferson, however, wisely avoided all entangling suggestions and sent Monroe to aid Livingston in effecting a purchase. The treaty was formed in April, 1803, and submitted to the Senate in October following. The Republicans rallied in favor of this scheme of annexation, and claimed it was a constitutional right in the government to acquire territory, a doctrine widely at variance with their previous proposition, but occasions are rare where parties quarrel with their administrations on pivot measures. The Federalists claimed that we had no right or power to acquire territory, and that the acquirement of Louisiana would give the South a preponderance which would "continue for all time, since southern would be more rapid than northern development;" that states created west of the Mississippi would injure the commerce of New England, and they even went so far as to say that the admission of the Western World into the Union would compel the eastern states to establish an Eastern empire. Doubts were also raised as to the rights of Louisiana, when admitted to citizenship under our laws, as their lineage, language and religion were different than our own.

9. **The Inhabitants of the Purchased Territory.**—Its inhabitants were French and descendants of French, with some Spanish creoles, Americans, English and Germans—in all about 90,000, including 40,000 slaves. There were

many Indians, of course, in a territory then exceeding a million square miles—a territory which, in the language of First Consul Napoleon, “strengthens forever the power of the United States,” and which will give to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride.

10. **Ratifying the Treaty of Purchase.**—Little chance was afforded the Federalists for adverse criticism in Congress, for the purchase proved so popular that the people greatly increased the majority in both branches of the VIII. Congress, and Jefferson called it together earlier, for the purpose of ratification. The Senate ratified the treaty on the 20th of October, 1803, by a vote 24 to 7, while the House adopted a resolution for carrying the treaty into effect by a vote of 90 to 25. Eleven millions of dollars of the purchase money was appropriated, the remaining four millions being reserved for the indemnity of American citizens who had sustained losses by French assaults upon our commerce, from which fact subsequently came what is known as the French spoliation bill.

11. **Prestige and Success to the Republican Party.**—Fortunately for the success of the new party Jefferson, while he had omitted the imposing ceremonial which had accompanied all the official conventions and assemblies of the Federalists, had preserved the respect due to execute officers with simpler formalities, all the more grateful to the common people whose affection for their rulers is heightened by easy familiarity. And this, more than all other causes combined, gave prestige and success to the Republican party.

12. **Our Heroic Age.**—“The stately ceremonials of Washington’s administration were appropriate at the time. And we confess that they seem to us not unbefitting the man. This was our heroic age—the half mythical epoch of nation founders. We cannot, like the ancients, translate the latter to demi-gods. But it seems to us very harmless that they should drift down the tide of tradition associated in the national memory with science accompaniments which in the distance appear grand and high. We never expect to see Washington painted on the canvas in pantaloons, and a round hat, and we should as soon think of quarreling with the costume as with the manners of the first presidency.”

13. **Jefferson’s Re-election.**—Jefferson was elected for a second term by an overwhelming majority, having received 162 votes in the electoral college of February, 1805. George Clinton was elected Vice-President by the same number, while Charles C. Pickney and Rufus King, the Federal candidates, had but 14 votes.

The Great Issues of the Fifth Administration.

POLITICAL EVENTS, PARTY CONTESTS, PARTY STRUGGLES, ETC.

1. **The Federal Party's Influence.**—During the three Federal and one Republican administrations preceding this time the issues between the Federal and Republican parties had been clearly defined. But though the Federalists were politically crushed, they maintained an influence in the councils of the nation that could not be disregarded by their opponents, especially as they embraced the most respectable portion of the people—the clergy of all denominations, the most noted lawyers, the wealthiest merchants, and all that class of men who are slow to oppose the “powers that be.”

2. **Attitude of the Republicans, or Democrats, as They Called Themselves.**—On the other hand, the Republicans were composed of the active spirits of the country—men who cared little for inherited name or fame; men who gloried in their individuality and valued everything for what it showed itself to be, stripped of the garb of pretension.

3. **The Position of the Two Parties.**—The Federalists had censured Jefferson for his friendly act to Thomas Paine, in sending a war vessel to convey him from France to the United States. Thomas Paine's political writings and political influence had done much to educate the people in self government and make a great nation of the American people.

The Republicans had in their ranks the masses who belonged to no church and had no faith to defend. All those who had embraced the cause of the French Revolution were Republicans. The men of quick impulses and salient points of character were Republicans, while the men of more immutable thoughts were Federalists. One party was the balancing force of the other through the natural and educational convictions of the respective minds.

4. **A New Treaty with England.**—Whoever has studied the character of Jefferson cannot fail to see in him the representative of Republican Democracy, but while he fully represented it, his quick sense of practicability served him in various exigencies which came upon him in his official responsibility. He well knew that his constituency favored France and hated England. Neutrality was essential in order to avoid a war with England. The commercial treaty of 1794 with England as far as it affected commerce,

expired by limitations in 1802, and the convention of 1800 made no provision for commercial relations, therefore, American trade with both of these countries rested on transient acts of Parliament with the one, and French decrees with the other. American vessels bound for French ports were liable to seizure by English cruisers, and if sailing for English ports liable to seizure from French cruisers.

As a means of relief, Jefferson, in 1806, appointed James Monroe and William Pickney as commissioners to the court of St. James to make a treaty. On the 31st of December this end was effected on very favorable terms to the United States, commercially; but even through the utmost exertions of the American commissioners, the English commissioners, Lords Holland and Aukland, could not be prevailed upon to concede to the right of search, and Jefferson refused to ratify this treaty, for the reason that it lacked the concession of this right, which was the only consistent course he could take, he having censured the Federalists for ratifying Jay's treaty because it did not prohibit the right of search.

This gave offense to the Federalists, who claimed that it was better than no treaty, and it caused great dissatisfaction in the New England states, whose commercial interests demanded the encouragement of foreign trade.

5. **The Next Great Event.**—The next great event during the administration of Jefferson was the attack of the British frigate, *Leopard*, upon the United States ship, the *Chesapeake*, off Hampton Roads, in June, 1807, and taking from her deck four English seamen, and impressing them into the British service. In this encounter three Americans had been killed and eighteen wounded. The British promptly offered reparation but refused to relinquish their rights to search American vessels. The grounds on which they claimed this right being that it was their only way to reclaim deserters from the British service who had enlisted in the American service.

6. **The Embargo Act.**—The Embargo Act was passed on the 18th of December, 1807, as a retaliatory measure. The substance of this act was to prohibit vessels within the jurisdiction of the United States from sailing for foreign ports. Very little notice was taken by England of this new act of the American administration. On the contrary, its effect was a recoil on American commercial interests, and the Federal party, especially in the New England states, raised an effective clamor against the Republicans for a measure that had proven so disastrous to the commercial interests of the country.

7. **Foreign Complications.** Only a few weeks after the Embargo Act had been passed British orders in council had been issued, bearing date of November, 1807, that "All trade directly from America to every port and country of Europe, at war with Great Britain, is totally prohibited." Previous to the issuing of the British orders the decrees of Berlin, and later those of Milan, had been issued by Napoleon, and while they aimed a blow at British commerce they disregarded the rights of neutrals, and Americans suffered from them the same as that of other neutral nations. The following report made to the House of Representatives November, 1808, will show the situation at the time:

"The aggression of England and France collectively, affecting almost the whole of our commerce, and persisted in, notwithstanding repeated remonstrances, explanations and propositions, the most candid and unexceptionable, are, to all intents and purposes, a maritime war waged by both nations against the United States. It cannot be denied that the ultimate and only effectual mode of resisting that warfare, if persisted in, is war. A permanent suspension of commerce after repeated and unavailing efforts to obtain peace, would not properly be resistance; it would be withdrawing from the contest and abandoning our indisputable rights freely to navigate the ocean. The present unsettled state of the world, the extraordinary situation in which the United States are placed, and the necessity, if war be resorted to, of making it at the same time against both nations, and these two the most powerful in the world, are the principal causes of hesitation. There would be none in resorting to that remedy, however calamitous, if a selection could be made on any principle of justice or without a sacrifice of national independence."

8. **The Federalists Opposed the Embargo Act.**—The Federalists had opposed the Embargo Act, and the New England states were almost unanimous against it, because it sacrificed their interests to what the Republicans claimed to be a necessary foreign policy wherewith to force the English to make a treaty favorable to the United States.

9. **"The Non-Intercourse Law."**—March 1, 1809, an act was passed by Congress called "The Non-Intercourse Law." It was intended as a substitute for the embargo, on the following conditions, to-wit: "That if England and France would both repeal their restrictions on American commerce then the United States would repeal both the embargo and non-intercourse acts." Much diplomacy but no relief was the fruit of this proposition. The Federalists accused the Republican party of passing the embargo act

as a vindictive measure against the New England Federalists, which charges had little effect, as the Republican policy was vindicated by their popular vote on the coming Presidential election.

10. **James Madison Elected President.**—The Republican candidates were James Madison, for President, who received 122 electoral votes, and George Clinton, for Vice-President, who received 113 electoral votes. The Federal candidates were C. C. Pickney, for President, who received 47 electoral votes, and Rufus King, for Vice-President, who received 47 electoral votes. Besides these there were some scattering votes for other candidates. The successful candidates were sworn into office on the 4th of March, 1809.

Sixth Administration.

POLITICAL EVENTS OF THE SIXTH ADMINISTRATION.—THE SUCCESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

1. **Republican or Democratic Party.**—The fall of the Federal party, and, on its ruins, the rise of the Republican or Democratic party as the Republicans began to call themselves now, had subordinated partisan issues to the national question of foreign commerce.

2. **A Bad Feeling Against England.**—The war between France and England had taken such a phase, that neutral nations who had any commerce on the ocean, were almost as badly punished as the belligerents themselves. They had no immunity from capture from either one belligerent or the other. If bound for the ports of either belligerent the other would seize their vessels. Both parties wished to avert war, but in their policy they were not sustained by the people, who were exasperated against England, not only for claiming the right of search, but for selling guns and scalping knives to hostile Indians on our frontiers.

3. **Popular Indignation Demanded War.**—But a change of foreign policy was demanded during Madison's first term. Popular indignation demanded war, and forbearance had reached its limit. This feeling was universal among the Republicans, who now gloried in the name of Democrats, and even the Federal masses, despite loyalty to party ties, began to have vengeful thoughts for late English aggressions.

**JAMES MADISON,**

**Born at Port Conway, King George County, Virginia,
March 16, 1751.**

President March 4, 1809-March 4, 1817.

Died at Montpelier, Virginia; June 28, 1836.

Pending this agitation, Mr. Erskine, the English minister to America, in April, 1809, made a proposition to the President to the effect that if the United States would repeal the Non-Intercourse Act, the English orders in council, of which the Americans complained, should be repealed. This proposition was hailed with delight by the chief executive, and he hastened to give it force by proclamation. All that was wanting now to restore quiet was the ratification by the English Government. On the following July, dispatches came that the happy compromise had failed to be ratified on the ground that Mr. Erskine had exceeded his instructions in some of the provisory details of the article in question.

4. **To Checkmate the English.**—Both parties were disappointed that peace had been averted through such a capitious ruling of the British Cabinet, and war was the result. Since 1778 there ever has been, and still is, a friendly feeling in America for France, and although a charitable

construction was put upon the decrees of Berlin on the ground that they were necessary to checkmate the English, whose orders in council had been so disastrous to America, and although the diplomatic correspondence between the two countries ever since the inauguration of the "The Continental System" had been antagonistic, yet the French Minister evidently felt a partial assurance that a wedge of disintegration could be inserted between America and England by an adroit piece of coquetry towards her (England) on the part of France.

5. **Trying to Avert War.**—To this end, on the 5th of August, 1810, M. de Champagny, the French Minister, proposed to the American Minister in Paris, General Armstrong, that the Berlin and Milan decrees should be revoked on two conditions, which were that England should repeal her orders in council and that America should repeal her non-intercourse laws. This proposition was promptly submitted to English Court, but it was declined on the ground that in its estimation Napoleon had no intention to repeal his offensive decrees in their application to England.

6. **A Formal Declaration of War Against England.**—Much fruitless diplomacy followed, succeeded by a formal declaration of war against England, made June 18, 1812. Though not a party measure, the opposition to it in New England was emphatic. The governors of Massachusetts denied the constitutional right of the President to call their militia out of the state, except for defense in case of invasion.

7. **Madison Re-elected.**—The next presidential election gave 128 votes for Madison, a second term; Gerry, the Republican candidate for Vice-President, 131 votes. Clinton, the Federal candidate for President, had but 89 votes, and Ingersoll, the Federal candidate for Vice-President, had but 86 votes. Madison and Gerry were inaugurated March 4, 1813.



Political Events of the Seventh Administration.

1. **The War Against England.**—The war against England was now the inevitable policy of the United States, war not conducted on party lines, although the feeble and unavailing protest against it, nearly the whole of it, came from the Federalists. Many New England people opposed it, alleging that it might expose them to an invasion, and that it was waged on issues that time only would settle without drawing the sword. To oppose it a convention assembled in Hartford December 15, 1814, composed of delegates from the different New England States.

2. **Secret Session.**—Several days were spent in secret session, and its proceedings were not published till 1833, during which long interval a treasonable indictment rested on the heads of those who composed it, by implications, in the minds of the people, more onerous than their actions, had it been known, would justify. The secretary, Theodore Dwight, was the one who relieved the suspicion by publishing the whole proceedings, nothing of which were treasonable.

3. **Negotiations for Peace.**—After the war had progressed two years, negotiations for peace were begun at Ghent, in Belgium, in August, 1814. Though American arms had won laurels, particularly at sea, yet we wanted peace. More victories on sea or land were not needed on the score of glory, but were we sure to win them, when England had the victors of Waterloo, now released from home service, ready to bring against us? Even Young America knows when to use discretion, and the President threw no fire brands into the council fires by raising any issues for which the war had been declared. England wanted peace, too. Her thirst for military glory had been satiated by the downfall of Napoleon, who was now her prisoner, and he who would have counseled a continuation of war, after the exhaustive struggle she had maintained in conquering him, would have been considered an enemy to mankind.

4. **Peace Declared.**—The articles of peace between England and America were signed December 24, 1814, by the American Commissioners, John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, and Jonathan Russell, and by Lord Gambier, Henry Gouldburn, and William Adams, on the part of England. The treaty was duly ratified by both countries. It settled no point in disputed theory, but practically settled all of them except the still

debatable northeastern and northwestern boundary lines between the two nations. It did another thing, which was to soften partisan asperities in America, and to pave the way for the "era of good feeling" which characterized the second administration of Monroe.

5. **American Diplomacy.**—The United States had crossed swords with England, in the main victoriously, and had demonstrated its discretion in diplomacy in its firmness on certain issues, in the decision of which it held the controlling power, and by its silence on other issues which time would solve in favor of the United States. All political parties shared the national pride, even the Federalists, who opposed the war. The experiences of the late war had shown the necessity of national money, as wars always do, and one of the first things to be done after peace had been restored was to make provision for this requirement.

6. **The National Bank.**—Hamilton planned the National Bank. It had answered the ends for which it was intended and went out of existence in 1811—which was the limited time of its charter. At this date an attempt to re-charter it had failed by one vote. The Republicans had opposed it from the first, but now, April 10, 1816, largely through Republican influence, a national bank was chartered for twenty years with a capital of \$35,000,000, of which one-fifth was to be subscribed by the general government.

7. **A Long Debate.**—A long debate preceded this act, the substance of which showed that the reasons for chartering the bank were to give the country a sounder and better currency than that which the state banks had furnished since the first United States bank had gone out of existence in 1811, the value of whose paper had sunk nearly twenty per cent., and caused a great loss to the people and even to the government. It should not be overlooked that the United States bank charter was this time a Republican measure in opposition to the Federalists, while the first one was just the reverse.

8. **Indiana Admitted.**—Near the close of this administration Indiana was admitted, and the society that organized Liberia for freed negroes was formed.

9. **James Monroe Elected President.**—The next Presidential election was now at hand, and the Republicans had only to walk over the course. James Monroe, the Republican candidate for President, had 183 votes, Daniel D. Tompkins, candidate for Vice-President, had the same number. Rufus King, Federal candidate for president, had 34 votes, while a few votes each were given to different Federal candidates for Vice-President. The successful candidates were inaugurated March 4, 1817.

Political Events and New Issues of the Eighth Administration.

1. **Result of the War.**—The war of 1812 never had a counterpart. On the part of America it was a test of nationality. Could the United States keep their name in the family of nations by defending those rights for which governments are designed? That was the question, and an emphatic "yes" was the answer which thundered from the guns of our infantine marine. The treaty of Ghent, which



JAMES MONROE,

Born in Westmoreland County, Virginia,

April 28, 1758.

President March 4, 1817—March 4, 1825.

Died at New York City July 4, 1831.

hushed the voice of the guns, made in haste and under the excited feelings on both sides, left some issues between the two countries practically unsettled, especially such as related to American foreign rights in a national point of view, as well as our commercial rights on the protection of American citizens abroad.

For the first time in the history of our country, these issues came before Mr. Monroe for the reason that he was the first president to represent the policy to be penned by a republic that had shown its ability on the ocean to protect its rights like other nations, conspicuous among which was the policy to be framed offensive and defensive towards our neighboring nation on the American continent. Up to this time the United States had never been consulted by



HENRY CLAY.

any European nation as to either conquest or any other disposition to be made of countries this side of the Atlantic.

2. **The Monroe Doctrine.**—At this time Spain was rapidly losing control of her conquered provinces in the Western World, and that other European nations were taking measures to secure footholds here was certain; hence the policy to be pursued by the United States in relation to this matter was looked for with great interest.

Mr. Monroe was well equal to the occasion in setting this forth in his own dignified plainness, which so well represents the sentiments of his peers that it has descended into history as the Monroe Doctrine. Let us quote his words.

3. Our Rights.—"In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part; nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately interested, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and importunate observers. The political systems of the allied powers are essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments, and, to the defense of our own, which has been abused by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of her most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

"With the existing Colonies or dependence of any European powers we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration, and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

4. Purchase of Florida.—The rapid growth of the United States had made Florida a very untenable colony for Spain, and on the 22d of February, she ceded it to the United States for the consideration of \$5,000,000 and by the same treaty relinquished any right she might have to territory on the Pacific coast, north of the 42d parallel. This was a humiliating measure for Spain, being a confession that her people could not keep pace with Young America in national progress.

5. *Admission of Missouri as a Slave State.—The next year another question came up that had its opposers through the same channel that had produced so much friction in the national councils ever since the adoption of the constitution. The ordinance of 1787 had excluded slavery from all territory north of the Ohio river, and no constitutional objection had been made to the restrictive clause in that

* During this administration five new states were admitted into the Union: Mississippi in 1817; Illinois in 1818; Alabama in 1819; Maine in 1820, and Missouri in 1821.

ordinance. But now a large pecuniary interest in slaves had grown up in the South, and with it a disposition to defend that interest. To this end the people of Missouri territory in 1819 applied for admission into the Union as a slave state. Individual rights, state rights and constitutional rights were demanded by the people in the south, and to guarantee this, slavery must be allowed in the new state. On the other hand, the advocates of freedom declared that their rights would be violated by the admission of Missouri as a slave state.

6. **The Missouri Compromise.**—The compromise by which the bill was passed, was, that henceforward all territory west of Missouri and north of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$ should be free from slavery. No political party fully represented either side of this issue, in its first incipency, although, of the few Federal senators and representatives then in Congress, the majority were against the admission of Missouri as a slave state. On the other hand the Republicans or Democrats as they were by this time sometimes called, were largely in favor of admitting the state without restrictions. On this side the southern states were united irrespective of parties, the opposition coming entirely from the north, also, almost irrespective of parties.

7. **Not Strictly a Partisan Issue.**—The proof that it was not strictly a partisan issue is seen by the close vote by which the compromise was passed, which was as follows: In the house, against the restrictions, 86 yeas; 82 nays; the senate concurring by a vote of 26 against 15—this division of opinion being much more nearly balanced than a division separating the Federalists from the Republicans. Henry Clay was one of the most conspicuous advocates for the compromise, in which work he was assisted by the moderate men of both parties.

8. **Strict Constructionists and Loose Constructionists.**—Ever since the adoption of the constitution, in 1781, the term, Strict Constructionists and Loose Constructionists has been in vogue. They have been used more in a descriptive sense than as defined party names, although the loose or liberal constructionists had been chiefly found in the Federal ranks because they had been the advocates of a United States bank, protective tariff and international improvements.

The Anti-Federalists and their successors, the Republicans, had objected to these measures on the ground that the constitution authorized no such responsibilities in its strict construction, and only by a loose construction of its powers could the United States adopt them. Hence the origin of these terms.

9. **The Convulsive Issue.**—In the convulsive issue just passed as to slavery in Missouri, these terms had been applied in the settlement of a more irritating problem than ever before, the advocates for slavery having made it the occasion for bitter attacks on their opponents, on the ground of violating the rights of the constitution by their loose construction of its meaning and intent, in guaranteeing the rights of each state to make its own laws.

10. **The Friends of Freedom.**—The friends of freedom retorted that the true policy of the government, as to creating or admitting more slave territory, had been forecast when the ordinance of 1787 had excluded slavery forever from all territory north of the Ohio; and on that ground claimed to be strict constructionists.

11. **United States Bank, Protective Tariff and Internal Improvements.**—The question, whether a United States bank, protective tariff and internal improvements were in accordance with a strict construction of constitutional powers or not, was subsequently settled in the affirmative, though prior to the settlement of the question as to whether the constitution had power to limit slavery. During the late struggle Henry Clay had made himself very popular in the south, first by his favoring the admission of Missouri without the restricting clause in question, and next by his able and timely advocacy of the compromise on which the issue was settled. During the whole contest he had been speaker, but at the next session he resigned on account of private affairs, and John W. Taylor, of New York, was chosen to fill his place.

Mr. Taylor was the embodiment of one of those Abolition Whigs of a twenty-year-later day who cared more for his convictions than his party. He was opposed to the extension of slavery, and was in favor of internal improvements and protective tariff; and his election as speaker may be reckoned as the first sign of disaffection in the Republican ranks from which ultimately the Whig party germinated. His election was exceedingly offensive to the southern states.

12. **Monroe's Re-election.**—Mr. Monroe's first term was now near its close, and during the sanguinary conflict that it witnessed, his moderation had won universal confidence. No other one seemed so competent to guide the ship of state as he, and no candidate for the next presidential election was run against him.

The count of the electoral votes for President showed 235 for Mr. Monroe, and 1 for John Quincy Adams. Daniel D. Tompkins, the same Vice-President elected with Mr.

Monroe for the first term, had 215 votes for re-election, and 14 votes were scattering.

On the 5th of March, 1821, Monroe and Tompkins were inaugurated.

Political Events of the Ninth Administration.

1. **The "Era of Good Feeling."**—The "Era of Good Feeling" was no empty name wherewith to characterize the second term of Mr. Monroe, when at the assembling of the XVIIth Congress came together senators and representatives with no antagonistic issue before them. The Missouri compromise had quieted the apprehensions of any immediate danger to the slave interests, and the anti-slavery extensionists felt assured that this same obligation had pledged all territory north of 36° 30', the dividing line specified in the act, to freedom.

2. **New Issues.**—The limits and rights of Congress conferred by the Constitution as to the question of tariff, banking and internal improvements has never been defined, and, as these were the only questions now before the country, the only political parties then in practical working order were loose constructionists and strict constructionists, terms which were descriptive rather than nominal.

3. **Daniel Webster Opposed a Protective Tariff.**—Daniel Webster opposed a protective tariff as a national policy, but was willing to modify this rule to suit emergencies. Henry Clay advocated the other side, and the debates in the Senate between these two opponents on these opposing interests were exhaustive, and have since that time furnished material for the endless controversy that has, to use a metaphor, played "Yankee Doodle" with variations on thin vocal instruments of political music—that is, as a policy of political economy.

Europe had beaten her swords into plowshares and was now raising her own bread, and it almost seemed as if the farmer's occupation was gone. There was little earning to do on the high seas, and business was stagnated.

4. **Increase of Tariff.**—This revived the question of loose construction versus strict construction to ascertain what could constitutionally be done to give relief, and on this the House and Senate were nearly balanced, leaving but a small majority in favor of a protective tariff, which

resulted in slightly increasing the duties on articles of American manufacture.

5. LaFayette.—In the summer of 1824 the American people were much gratified by the arrival of LaFayette, now aged and gray, who returned once more to visit the land for whose liberty he had fought and bled. The honored patriots as well as the younger heroes, who had learned from their fathers his claims to their gratitude and love, came forth to greet him. His journey through the country was a triumph. At the grave of Washington the great patriot of France wept over the dust of the great patriot of America. His name will ever be hallowed.

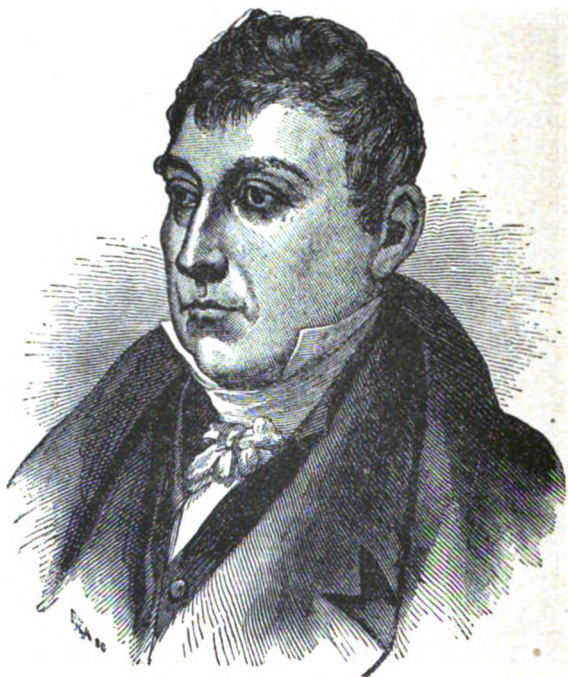
6. Alliances with American Republics.—For the first time an issue involving a policy, as to alliances with American Republics, now came before Congress. At the suggestion of Bolivar, ex-President of Columbia, South America, a convention of representatives from Central and South American republics had been invited to meet at Panama to take into consideration measures wherewith to resist Spain in her determination to still retain American possessions by force of arms; and the United States were invited to send commissioners to this convention.

7. A New Contest.—A discussion ensued in which Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Hayne, Woodbury, and others engaged, chiefly defining the nature of the instructions to be given to the commissioners.

The President had already expressed an opinion in his message to Congress on this subject. On preceding pages it will be seen that the policy of the administration had been well defined, which was the frame work not only for the representatives to the Panama convention but an exposition of American policy on such issues ever since that time.

There was only one political party at this time, and the succeeding presidential election was necessarily a choice of such men as in the opinion of the electors were the best representatives of the paramount interests of the country.

8. Nominating Candidates.—A caucus for nominating candidates had been called by Congress, but it was a failure, so few had attended it. Moreover, all that a caucus could do in the way of nominating candidates for President had already been practically done in debating the tariff question in Congress, for that was the main issue before the country at this time, and he whose views on this subject came nearest to the general sense of Congress and the country stood the best chance for the presidency.

**LAFAYETTE.**

Henry Clay, Speaker of the House; William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, and Andrew Jackson were the leading candidates for the President, while John C. Calhoun was supported by a large majority for Vice-President.

9. **The Election of John Quincy Adams by the House.**— There were then 261 electors, and of these 99 voted for Jackson, 84 for John Quincy Adams, 41 for Crawford and 37 for Clay; 182 were cast for Calhoun for Vice-President, and 78 for various other candidates. This elected him, but no one candidate for President having a majority over all the others, no choice was made, and the election went to the

House of Representatives, who were to elect a President from the three who had the highest number of votes at the electoral college convened in February, 1825, succeeding the November election of 1824.

There were 24 states, of which 13 voted for Adams, 7 for Jackson and 4 for Crawford, after having a long and exciting debate on the issue. Adams and Calhoun were inaugurated March 4, 1825.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

Born at Braintree, Norfolk County, Mass.,

July 11, 1767.

President March 4, 1825-March 4, 1829.

Died at Washington, D. C., February 23, 1848.

Political Events of the Tenth Administration.

1. **A Bright Page in Our History.**—The sterling virtues of John Quincy Adams when he assumed the Presidential chair, form a bright page in our history, all the more conspicuous for his simplicity and the absence of any subtlety in his policy. That the harmony which had pre-

vailed during the past administration had been substituted for a more heroic policy on the issues which were now accumulating as the country increased in wealth, was to be supposed.

2. The Federalists were no more as a Party.—Though the Federalists were no more as a party, yet they had bequeathed a conservative element to a future generation, which, blended with a veneration for their memory, survived their downfall, and to a certain extent is still manifest.

3. The Charge of Conspiracy.—Mr. Adams was not without this conviction, and both himself and Mr. Clay had enough independence of party spirit to give principles the preference to all else. When the House of Representatives had voted by states and elected Mr. Adams as President, the states choosing Clay electors had voted for him, thereby giving him a majority. This aroused the indignation of the states which had voted for Clay electors, and of the Democrats or extreme Republicans as well, and conspiracy was charged upon both Mr. Adams and Clay to insure the election of Mr. Adams, which suspicion was strengthened by Mr. Adams appointing Mr. Clay as Secretary of State. This charge was solemnly denied, and it is proper to state that the charge was never proven, even by circumstantial evidence.

4. Adams and Clay Faction.—Public convictions in favor of the principles, at a later date, destined to be the declared policy of the Whig party, seemed to be gaining strength, and it is a singular fact that although Mr. Adams favored the growing current of public voice toward liberal construction, yet up to 1828—the last year of his administration—Congress did not sustain him, and he was during all this time in an antagonistic position toward both houses.

Pending this interim, the term "Adams and Clay faction" was frequently applied to those who were in sympathy with them during various attempts to inaugurate a system of internal improvements. But this "faction," as it was called, finally triumphed, during the first session of the XXth Congress, when the tariff of 1828 was passed, giving manufacturers a still greater protection.

5. Liberal Appropriations for Internal Improvements. The same Congress made liberal appropriations for internal improvements which last act sustaining Mr. Adams' administration by adopting the measures he had recommended.

6. A New Party.—A new party sprang up now of which Adams was the acknowledged leader, which, though standing on the platform of the subsequent Whig party, styled itself National Republicans.

Jackson was the champion of the old trunk of the party that dated its patent as an inheritance from Jefferson, and this party now gloried in the name of Democrats.

Neither party claimed any credit as being the exponent of the old federal party, for the reason that the Federalists had opposed the war policy, albeit both alike revered the memory of Washington and of John Adams, the latter of whom had advocated the war, and the former was reposing in his honored tomb before the war had been declared.

7. **Jackson Elected President.** The time for selecting the candidates for the next presidential election was at hand, the system of national conventions now in use had not been adopted, but in lieu of it the different state legislatures made nominations, and common consent informally accepted them.

Hitherto Congress had made the nominations, and the results had been that twice the elections had been thrown into the House—the last time with a suspicion of corruption. Andrew Jackson for President and John C. Calhoun for Vice-President were the nominees of the Democrats, and John Quincy Adams for President and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President were nominated by the National Republicans.

That the two were the ablest representatives of their respective parties that the country afforded in proven by their subsequent record.

In February, 1829, the electoral votes were counted, showing for Jackson 178 votes and for Adams 83. Calhoun had 171 votes and Rush 83. The popular vote was 647,231 for Jackson and 509,097 for Adams.

Jackson and Calhoun were inaugurated March 4, 1829.

Political Events of the Eleventh Administration.

1. **Jackson's Greatness.**—Andrew Jackson had made a record before his election by using cotton bales for bulwarks when New Orleans was attacked by Pakenham. The victory he then won was as marvelous as his method was original. Pakenham could not flank him, for he had the Mississippi on his right and Alligator Swamp on his left. Neither could a British officer retreat before half his number of raw Yankees, especially those who knew no more about rules of war than to crowd behind bales of cotton; hence the result.



ANDREW JACKSON.

Born in Waxhaw Settlement, North Carolina,

March 15, 1767.

President March 4, 1829-March 4, 1837.

Died at the Hermitage, near Nashville, Tenn.,

June 8, 1845.

But even if Jackson did not win this victory, he was nevertheless an original character whom everybody either loved or feared. Once a ruffian attacked him. Did he call for help? No. He pounded him into submission with his fist.

The writer, when a child, saw 5,000 girls, who worked in the factory at Lowell, Mass., dressed in white on parade to do him honor. One of them, in her extravagant admiration for Jackson, approached his carriage and asked the honor of kissing him. Unexpected as this episode was, he

leaned his sturdy masculine face forward and received the gentle token to the admiration of a thousand spectators.

2. His Physical Courage.—This was Jackson in a new role, but it was an index of the homage paid him. His moral and his physical courage were supreme. His assured cast of facial expression happily blended with cordial manners to people in humbler life, won all hearts, and by common consent dubbed him a democrat in its extremest attribute.

Opposition added strength to his cause, for he was like a ship that could sail but in rough seas. At that time loose constructionists generally meant high tariff men, but a strict constructionist was not necessarily an anti-tariff man on this policy; the country was not as positively divided on party lines as at present.

3. Removals from Office for Political Opinion's Sake.—Jackson began his administration by a sweeping removal from office of nearly 700 persons, including postmasters whose political opinions had been opposed to Democracy. Up to this time the removals from office in the former administrations had been as follows: By Washington, in eight years, 9, one of which was for defalcation; by John Adams, in four years, 10, one of which was for defalcation; by Jefferson, in eight years, 39; by Madison, in eight years, 5, three of which were for defalcation; by Monroe, in eight years, 9, six of which were for causes not political; by John Quincy Adams, in four years, 2, both of which were for causes not political.

This new policy of removals from offices for political opinion's sake has been practiced ever since, and has so thoroughly been adhered to that its propriety of late years is not objected to except by a small minority. It took a Jackson to inaugurate it, and that it has brought strength to his party is generally believed, else why would his successors do the same? Is it for patriotic motives?

4. Three Problems.—At the opening of the XX1st Congress, which was the first one of Jackson's administration, three problems were before the nation—the tariff question, the internal improvement question and the banking question.

5. Different Views.—The old Federal party had been from the first in favor of all of them, as indispensable to the good of the nation, and they had all been opposed by the National Republicans, but adopted reluctantly when an overwhelming popular will demanded them.

6. Jackson's Policy.—On the subject of banking, Jackson in his first message took ground unfriendly to the

United States Bank, that had been chartered in 1816 for twenty years, by saying that it had failed in "establishing a uniform and sound currency," and suggested in place of it a national bank, "founded on the credit of the government and its revenues."

In the same message he recommended a distribution among the states of the surplus public moneys coming from the tariff, as a means whereby internal improvements could be made, thereby avoiding the infringement of "a questionable constitutional right" of Congress to make appropriations for such purposes.

On the tariff question he said, that "the rule to be observed in graduating the duties upon foreign products was that which would place our own in fair competition with them."

Notwithstanding Jackson's unfriendly policy toward the United States Bank, at the next session a bill to recharter it passed both Houses, but he vetoed it July 10, 1832.

7. **The Tariff of 1828.**—The tariff of 1828, which was higher than any former one, was now the fixed law of the land, but it produced great discontent in the South among the partisans of Democracy. Calhoun, the Vice-President, was a Democrat, and at a later date in Jackson's first administration the collision between him and Jackson came.

8. **A Bill to Limit the Sale of Public Lands.**—But while the Calhoun policy was maturing a new question was sprung upon the country by Mr. Foote, of Connecticut. The substance of Mr. Foote's proposition was a bill conditionally to limit the sale of public lands, for prudential reasons, but extreme constructions of it had resulted in partisan recriminations, and brought into the debate on it unexpected issues.

9. **The State Rights Doctrine Issue.**—Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, advocated the policy of investing each state with the "control of all the public lands within their respective limits." He opposed the policy of "creating a great national treasury from the state public lands or other sources. * * * It would be a fund for corruption fatal to the duration of our institution, and to the sovereignty and independence of the states."

Daniel Webster replied to Mr. Hayne in a speech which has become famous as a landmark in the political records of the United States.

This great senatorial debate fairly reopened the State rights doctrine issue, which had slumbered since the promulgation of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, in 1798-9.

10. **Calhoun's Nullification Policy and the Breaking Up of Jackson's Cabinet.**—At the next session Calhoun's

nullification policy as to state rights, together with some disputes between himself and Jackson growing out of the Seminole war, ended in the breaking up of Jackson's cabinet, and estranging the friendship of these two distinguished exponents of Democracy—the one, Mr. Calhoun, in his extreme fidelity to state rights, announcing a principle destined to be settled ultimately by the sword, and the other, Jackson, not venturing over that line of demarkation which could only be defined by the same power. Jackson vetoed several bills for internal improvements, but signed two important ones, thereby committing himself to the sanction of such a policy.

11. Calhoun's Influence.—After the dissolution of Jackson's cabinet, through his quarrel with Calhoun, for once he was circumvented by his political antagonists. He had nominated Martin Van Buren as minister to England, but through Calhoun's influence the Senate failed to confirm it, and to give point to the blow Calhoun, through his influence in the Senate, had so arranged the affair that, when the vote was taken there should be a tie, thereby giving him the satisfaction of rebuking Jackson by his casting vote.

12. Repeal of the Tariff of 1828.—Calhoun demanded the repeal of the tariff of 1828, and threatened secession as an alternative. As an offset to this aggressive position, Jackson, on December 16, 1832, issued a proclamation to the people, accusing the nullifiers of treason, and warning them of the fatal consequence of this course, if they did not desist.

13. Clay's Compromise Tariff Bill.—A new tariff bill was soon passed, abating the rates from the tariff of 1828, and the next year, 1833, Clay's compromise tariff bill, providing for a gradual reduction in rates until 1842, after which only 20 per cent. on all importations should be paid, quieted the country. Both sides claimed the victory; but Jackson's fame went up and Calhoun's down under the respective pretensions of each.

14. Three Political Parties.—For the next presidential election there were three political parties in the field—the Democrats, the National Republicans or Whigs, and the Anti-Masons.

15. Origin of the Anti-Mason Party.—The latter party was created by the abduction of William Morgan, of Batavia, N. Y., from his home in September, 1826. He had published a book claiming to have exposed the secrets of Free Masonry. Bills of indictment were found against several persons engaged in the abduction, two of whom had been punished by imprisonment. The affair caused intense

excitement, and became the nucleus for a new political party which discriminated against Masons as public officers, and in the coming tripartite contest for President of the United States their influence was felt.

16. National Conventions.—The Democrats throughout the entire country had early nominated Jackson by common consent as candidate for a second term. But candidates for President had now, for the first time, to be nominated by national conventions, held for that special purpose. Baltimore was the place fixed upon by each of the three political parties for holding them respectively.

17. Nominations of the Anti-Mason Convention.—That of the Anti-Masons came off first, the time of whose meeting was in September, 1831. William Wirt, of Virginia, was their candidate for President, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. The entire party, with a few exceptions, were composed of National Republicans.

18. Nominations of the National Republican Convention.—In the succeeding month the National Republican convention met and nominated Henry Clay for President, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. Internal improvements, banking and protective tariff was the policy which they advocated, and they did not hesitate to declare it in their platform, which was the first time any party had dared to take such a step, so great had the hesitancy hitherto been in the popular mind to advocate such a policy.

19. Nominations of the Democratic Convention.—The Democratic convention met in March, 1832. It had only to confirm the nomination of Jackson; and Martin Van Buren, of New York, was nominated for Vice-President, thereby rebuking the Calhoun faction, which had defeated his appointment as minister to England.

20. The Election.—The popular election came off the following November, and when the votes of the electoral college were counted the succeeding February, in 1833, Jackson had 219, and Van Buren only 189, the Pennsylvania electors having given their support to Wm. Wilkins, of their own state. Clay and Sergeant had each 49 votes, and Wirt and Ellmaker, the Anti-Masonic candidates, 7 votes each, which were from the Vermont electors.

South Carolina doggedly refused to affiliate with any of the parties, and cast her 11 votes for John Floyd, of Virginia, and Henry Lee, of Massachusetts.

The popular vote for Jackson was 687,502, and for Clay 590,189. Jackson and Van Buren were inaugurated March 4, 1833.

Twelfth Administration.

1. **Slavery Question.**—Says Cooper, in speaking of this administration: "Agitation of the slavery question in the United States really began about this time. Evil disposed persons had largely circulated through the United States southern states pamphlets and circulars tending to stir up strife and insurrection; and this had become so intolerable that it was referred to by the President in his message." Congress, at the session of 1836, was flooded with petitions and memorials urging Federal interference to abolish slavery in the states, beginning with the petition of the Society of Friends of Philadelphia urging the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. These petitions were referred to committees after an acrimonious debate, as to whether they should be received or not.

2. **The Position of the Government.**—The position of the government at that time is embodied in the following resolutions, which was adopted in the House of Representatives as early as 1790, and substantially reaffirmed in 1836, as follows: "That Congress has no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves or in the treatment of them within any of the states; it remains with the several states to provide any regulations therein which humanity and true policy may require."

At this time the abolition question was regarded as a sickly sentimentality, transient in its course, and no politician set his sails for its breezes, although such men as John Quincy Adams never hesitated to act in harmony with the movement, on issues that were preliminary to the ultimate end, such as abolition of slaves in the District of Columbia, and to do which was claimed by this unpopular party, but denied by the great majority of the two main parties.

3. **The United States Bank Question.**—The United States Bank question was the important question to be considered. The country needed a staple currency as well as the administration. Both had been losers by the depreciation of questionable bank paper, and in casting about for a remedy there was a clear majority in both Houses to re-charter the United States Bank, whose original charter expired by limitation in 1836.

4. **Deposit of Public Funds.**—By the legal provision in 1816 the public funds had been deposited in it and must continue to be, unless remedied by order of the Secretary of the Treasury, who was to use his own discretion as to the necessity of doing it as a matter of safety after having examined the soundness of the bank.

5. **Removal of Deposits.**—Lacking in his conviction against the policy of continuing the bank, Jackson requested Mr. McLane, the Secretary, to make no new deposits therein, whereupon Mr. McLane examined the liabilities of the bank and found its assets abundantly large to secure them, in his estimation, and refused to obey the Presidential order. Jackson promptly removed him and appointed Mr. J. Duane to succeed him, but he also declined to follow his instructions, and in turn was removed and Roger B. Taney appointed. Mr. Taney conceded to the President's wishes by removing the deposits and distributing them in various banks in different parts of the country.

6. **Caricatures to Vilify the President.**—The Whigs looked upon this measure with intense hospitality, and the picture makers in New York had enough to do to make the caricatures to vilify the President. The Jacksonians claimed that the administration was justified in this act, even if the bank was sound, as it aimed a blow at the power too great for the good of the nation.

NOTE.—The writer, then a young lad in New York, sold many of these caricatures. Jacob Little, a great financier in New York, was a good customer for them.

7. **The Doctrine of "Popular Rights."**—Many upheld Jackson because he had dared to attack the moneyed interests of the country. He was the standard bearer of the doctrine of "popular rights." He had advocated the plan of distributing the public money in the United States Treasury among the states. When Henry Clay introduced a resolution into the XXIII^d Congress to distribute the proceeds from the sale of public lands among the states, this measure was opposed by the leading Democrats, although it was a popular one. Benton spoke against it with great vehemence, and Jackson did not now advocate the bill, but had misgivings as to its propriety. Clay pressed the matter and secured its passage at the next session. It passed the Senate by a vote of 38 for to 6 against, and the House by 155 votes for to 38 against it. Jackson signed it with reluctance, but had he not done so it would, nevertheless, have become a law by the same vote by which it was passed. By its provision the distributed funds were lent to the states instead of being given to them.

8. **The Territory of Texas.**—The United States, in the treaty by which Florida had been acquired of Spain in 1819, relinquished to that power the country lying between the Sabine and Rio Grande rivers, called Texas. The inhabitants of the territory were largely composed of a non-descript class of adventurers from the United States—pliable

material for any enterprise that required dash and toughness. Among them were not a few outlaws—the whole mass preserved by the leaven of such men as Sam Houston, Moses Austin, and some literary reporters from New York press.

9. **Slavery in Texas.**—Slavery had been early introduced into Texas while under the government of the Mexican republic, which did not recognize this institution. There is evidence that ever since 1807 southern propagandists had, through Aaron Burr and others, contemplated either the annexation of Texas or a separate confederacy including it.

10. **War with Mexico.**—Texas proclaimed her independence March 2, 1836. War with Mexico ensued, and sympathizing spirits in large numbers flew from the southern states across the Sabine to assist the Texans in their fight. The war was begun during Jackson's second term, and he said in his message, "Hands off." The Texan cause gained ground, constantly propelled by the momentum of Texan valor and American emigration thither to share the dangers and the glories of a "Texan ranger."

11. **Prelude to Annexation.**—The independence of Texas was acknowledged by the United States during the last session of Congress in Jackson's second term. This was the most decisive step the government had yet taken, the apparent result of which would add strength to the South in her struggle with the North on the slavery issue. It was a prelude to annexation, without which the ultimate end to which southern ambition aimed would not have been gained, and the expected annexation came according to the program.

12. ***Close of Jackson's Administration.**—Jackson's administration was now drawing to a close. Both his terms had been marked by decisive acts that left their impress on the nation to be felt. Martin Van Buren was a confidential friend and adviser of Jackson, and it was through his influence that he was made the candidate for his place.

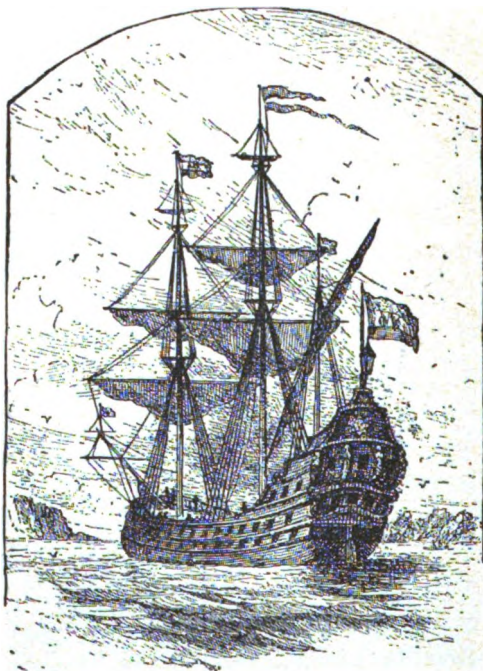
13. **The Nominating Convention.**—The nominating convention came off in Baltimore, May, 1835, and Mr. Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson became the Democratic candidates. No platform was adopted, for the reason that the party had declared a policy, well known and not difficult to be understood by the masses. It was hostile to banks, high tariff and internal improvements at the public expense. The Whig policy involved grand schemes of speculation, in which banks, high tariff and internal improvements were to be necessary factors.

* Two states were added during this administration: Arkansas in 1836, and Michigan, January, 1837.

14. The Result of Election.—The Whigs divided their scattered forces on several candidates who had been nominated by different interests, including in their ranks Anti-Masons and Abolitionists, and when the electoral college met in February, 1837, the votes were counted, and for President, Van Buren had 170; for Vice-President, Johnson had 147.

The Whig candidates were: Wm. H. Harrison, for President, who had 73 votes; Daniel Webster, candidate for the same office, had 14 votes; Francis Granger, candidate for Vice-President, had 77 votes; John Tyler had 47 votes for the same office. There were other scattering votes on both sides, but no choice was made for Vice-President, and the election for one went to the House, when Johnson was chosen. The popular vote for the Democratic ticket was 761,549. That of the opposition was 736,656.

Van Buren and Johnson were inaugurated March 3, 1837.



"QUEEN OF THE OCEAN."

**MARTIN VAN BUREN.**

**Born at Kinderhook, Columbia County, New York,
December 5, 1782.**

President March 4, 1837-March 4, 1841.

Died at Kinderhook July 24, 1862.

Thirteenth Administration.

1. A General Bank Explosion.—Says A. W. Young: "Mr. Van Buren's accession to the presidency occurred at an unpropitious period. The pecuniary pressure which followed the issuing of the specie circular, and which was already general and severe, was rapidly approaching its crisis. This pressure was extensively regarded as the natural result of a policy which he was pledged to continue. In May, the event for some time anticipated by many—a general bank explosion—took place. The banks in the city of New York, by common consent, suspended specie payment. The banks in other cities were compelled to adopt the same course. In the state of New York the Legislature legalized the suspension for one year.

2. The Causes.—Among the causes to which the suspension of specie payment was ascribed were the divisions of specie to the West, and the drain upon the banks in the Atlantic cities for exportation to Europe, to pay for the excessive importations of goods. Another cause of the derangement of the currency was supposed to be the large

loans made by the banks having on deposit the surplus revenue with the expectation that it would remain with them until called for by the general government. Instead, however, of being permitted to retain these funds as a basis for the extension of their loans, they were unexpectedly demanded for the purpose of distribution among the states.

3. **Mercantile Failures.**—The speculation and enormous appreciation of property during the last two or three years was followed by a revulsion, and a corresponding depreciation. Mercantile failures in the commercial cities, as Boston, New York and New Orleans, exceeding in number and amount, probably, any that ever occurred within an equal period of time, took place in a few months before and after the suspension. Representations of the vast depreciation of property, and of the general prostration of business, were made to the President, with request to rescind the specie circular, and to call an extra meeting of Congress. On the 15th of May, a few days after the suspension in the city of New York, a proclamation was issued for convening Congress on the first Monday in September.

4. **Act Regulating the Deposits.**—Under the provisions of the resolutions of 1816, and by the act of 1836, regulating the deposits, the Federal officers were prohibited from receiving or paying out the notes of any but specie paying banks. And the deposit banks, as well as others, had now suspended. Under existing laws, therefore, no collections or disbursements of public money could be made. If done at all it must be done in violation of law.

5. **The President's Message.**—Pursuant to the proclamation, Congress assembled on the 4th of September, 1837. The President's message was almost exclusively devoted to the banks and currency, the causes of the existing difficulties and their remedy. He suggested the entire disuse of banks as fiscal agents of the government, the collection, safe keeping, transfer and disbursements of the public money by officers of the government, and of the employment of specie alone in its fiscal operations. It was the recommendation of the sub-treasury scheme. He believed the exclusive use of specie a practical operation. Of the seventy or eighty millions in the country, ten millions would be sufficient for the purpose, if the accumulation of a large surplus revenue were prevented. The large increase in specie since the act of 1834 had contributed largely to the feasibility of the measure. The gold coinage alone had been since August, 1834, ten millions, which exceeded the whole coinage at the mint during the 31 previous years.

6. Bills Passed.—The bill authorizing the issue of treasury notes, the bill for adjusting the remaining claims on the late deposit banks and the bill to extend the time of payment on merchant revenue bonds all passed the Senate on the 19th of September. By the last of these bills the time of payment of the obligations given by merchants for the payment of duties on goods imported was extended nine months.

7. Sub-Treasury Bill.—The bill known as the Sub-Treasury Bill, reported by Mr. Wright on the 14th, was taken up in the Senate on the 19th, when Mr. Calhoun offered the amendment of which he gave notice at the time of his speech on the bill to authorize the issue of treasury notes, viz., requiring the eventual payment in specie of all money due to the government, familiarly called "the specie clause." This amendment was debated by Messrs. Niles, Benton, Walker, Calhoun and Buchanan, in support of it; and Messrs. Talmadge, Clay, Webster, King, of Georgia; and Preston in opposition. The amendment was adopted on the 2d of October; yeas, 24; nays, 23.

8. Petitions for the Abolition of Slavery.—A large number of petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and remonstrances against the annexation of Texas were received at the extra session. A resolution was proposed to be offered by Mr. Adams, "That the power of annexing the people of any independent foreign state to this Union is a power not delegated by the Constitution of the United States to their Congress, or to any department of their government, but reserved to the people." But the motion being decided out of order, the resolution was not received nor read.

9. The XXVIth Congress.—The last Congress (the XXVth) was not distinguished for party action. The XXVIth Congress opened December 2, 1839. The Whigs had gained in strength and numbers in the House, and after an acrimonious, not to say desperate contest, R. M. T. Hunter, a Whig, was chosen speaker. He was in favor of the sub-treasury scheme, which was the "last feather" that turned the scale of the election in his favor, and the sub-treasury bill passed during this session.

10. Promises of Gold and Silver Currency.—Notwithstanding that the general crash in the financial interests of the country had affected all classes, yet the old-time Democrats were firm in their first love. The promises of gold and silver currency was a flattering prospect to them, and so confidently did some of them look forward to this "good time coming" that they made it a rule to demand specie

for whatever they had to sell. On the other hand the banking and trading men of the country and all that class who favored public improvements at the expense of the state, who were in favor of high tariff and high prices, were banded together in a firm alliance (under the general name of Whigs).

11. The Abolitionists.—In the ranks of the Whigs were the anti-slavery advocates—the anti-Masons—and metaphysicians in sentimentalism, in various spheres of thought, more frequently than made the subjects of speculation than in the present age. Contrary to the expectations of the Whigs, the Abolitionists organized a distinct party. But this movement was looked upon by the great mass of even both contending parties, as ultra-montane, a mere ripple, soon to be submerged in the great waves of the sea of public interests.

12. Candidates for the Presidency.—The Whig National convention met at Harrisburg, Pa., December 4, 1839. It adopted no platform—was silent on the subject of slavery—but, in order to secure southern support, after having nominated William Henry Harrison as candidate for the presidency, nominated John Tyler for Vice-President. Except Calhoun himself, they could not have selected a man who better represented southern principles.

13. The Anti-Slavery Convention.—The Anti-Slavery convention, the first of its kind, was held at Albany, April 1, 1840. In it the Liberal party was organized, and James G. Burney was nominated as its candidate for President, and Thomas Earle, candidate for Vice-President. The Democratic convention was held at Baltimore, May 5, 1840. It denied the constitutional rights of Congress to protect manufacturers by a tariff, any further than a revenue tariff for the general good of all classes would do it, and also denied its right to make internal improvements at the expense of the public treasury, or to charter a bank. It also denied the right of Congress to interfere with slavery in the states—a right that even the liberty party did not then claim. They nominated the same candidates as had been successful in their last campaign—Van Buren and Johnson.

14. The Contest.—The contest that followed was an exciting one. It was in the main between the wealth producing interests, by means of banking and a protective tariff on one side, and on the other the more domestic classes of men who were willing to go a little slower on the road to wealth and national grandeur—men to whom the terms, wealth and fame were more significant of such physical

conditions as food, raiment, and military glory, than of tall church-spires, architectural domes, and millions behind them.

15. **Long-Haired Philosophers.**—The Abolitionists were, as a rule, cynical, and were sometimes called, in derision, "long-haired philosophers," "freedom shriekers," and other epithets in a spirit of contempt.

16. **Two Great Journalistic Exponents.**—The issue at stake brought the best talent of the country into the arena. Thurlow Weed, the editor of the Albany *Evening Journal*, and Hezekiah Niles, editor of Niles' *Register*, were the two great journalistic exponents of the Whigs, and the former (Mr. Weed) having been attracted by the force of Horace Greeley's editorials in the *New Yorker*, secured his services to the cause of the Whigs and their tariff policy; and young Greeley was made the editor of the *Log Cabin*, published under the auspices of the Whig state committee of New York. This was the occasion that introduced that eminent journalist into prominence, who was destined ultimately to exert such a world wide influence.

17. **The Popular Election.**—The popular election passed off in November, 1840. Amid the vocal din of log cabin songs, interlined with something about hard cider and Harrison's latch string always hanging outside of the door (on the part of the Whigs.) While the Democrats were almost as talkative about "Dick Johnson" having slain Tecumseh at the battle of the Thames.

18. **The Electoral Votes.**—When the electoral votes were counted the following February, 1841, they stood: For Harrison and Tyler, 234; for Van Buren, 60; for Johnson, 48. There were some scattering votes for Vice-President.

The popular vote was more nearly equal, being: For Harrison, 1,275,017; for Van Buren, 1,128,702.

Harrison and Tyler were inaugurated March 4, 1841.

Fourteenth Administration.

1. **A Whig Majority in the Senate and House.**—Among points of solicitude by the Democrats, none were more objectionable to them than the possibility of the overthrow of the Jacksonian policy, concerning both the "tariff" and the "bank." The fact that there was a Whig majority in the Senate and House, was made more conspicuous by the



WM. H. HARRISON,

**Born at Berehely, Charles City County, Virginia,
February 9, 1773.**

President March 4, 1841-April 4, 1841.

Died at Washington, D. C., April 4, 1841.

message of President Harrison, who called for an extra session to meet on the 31st of May; but which he was never permitted to witness, in consequence of his death on the 4th of April.

2. **Abolition of the Sub-Treasury Project.**—John Tyler now being the head of the nation, immediately a bill was offered and passed for the abolition of the sub-treasury project, and received Tyler's signature forthwith. The Whigs had determined upon a line of work, in full accord with their principles, and one of these was to establish a central system of finance. An introductory measure was the establishing of a bank for this purpose. To accomplish this, a bill to create "The Fiscal Bank of the United

States," with a capital of \$30,000,000, was introduced, containing a clause by which the capital might be raised to \$50,000,000 if needed. It passed to a vote, and the following is the result: In the house, 128 yeas to 97 nays; in the senate 26 yeas to 23 nays; being purely a party vote.

The bill was vetoed by Tyler because it contemplated a discount business; whereas, he thought it should have been only a bank of exchange; he also objected that certain states, which were entitled by the bill to have branches, had not given their consent. To placate him a new bill adapted to his views was formed and passed, only to receive again the fatal veto.

3. **The Cabinet Resigns.**—This second veto taught the Whigs the futility of attempting to adapt themselves to his exacting methods, and filled the entire party with indignant astonishment. Their hopes were blasted. The Cabinet, with the exception of Webster, resigned; he, holding the helm of state as secretary, still hoped so to steer the craft that she might not leave the open sea of a Whig administration. Clay called Tyler to account in his terse and forcible words, and charged him with apostacy in terms that met the party's approval. Thomas Ewing, the Secretary of the Treasury, in conversation with the President, was heard to say that Tyler would have signed the second bill had there been only a slight change in it; in fact, only the prohibition from dealing in other than foreign exchange and inter-state bills. At the same time the President expressed a wish to Webster that such a new bill be drawn and presented to Congress. At this extra session a bankrupt law was passed.

4. **Asking the Dissolution of the Union.**—It was also provided by enactment that the funds from the sale of public lands be distributed among the several states on condition that the tariff of 1833 should remain as it was.

This was a sort of funeral farewell to the dead bank as the Whigs dared not attempt to restore it under the widespread aversion to it as expressed in the popular voice. Amid these twin troubles—the bank and the tariff—there came from Haverill, Mass., a petition, signed by 46 persons, and presented by John Quincy Adams asking the *dissolution of the Union*, because of equal benefits conferred upon different states in the interest of slavery. The Senate stood aghast that this southern bit of dissolution should have been projected across their horizon from fair and stable Massachusetts. In two weeks' time the northern patriots had ample opportunity to score the southern, whose fiery eyes showed more of hate for the audacious petition



JOHN TYLER,

Born in Charles City County, Virginia,

March 29, 1790.

President April 4, 1841-March 4, 1845.

Died at Richmond, Virginia, January 17, 1862.

than love for the Union; but the greatest censure came from those who later were the most active participants in secession, and those offered Mr. Adams the greatest affronts; simply defending the right of petition he had presented this, and not because he was in any way in sympathy with it.

5. Revenues Insufficient.—Concerning the tariff of 1833 it may be noticed that it gave a 20 per cent. ad valorem upon all importations after June 30, 1842. During the last fiscal year the receipts from it had so far failed that it became necessary to raise \$12,000,000 for currency use; thus proving the revenues insufficient.

6. Attempts to Raise the Tariff.—The distribution of proceeds of land sales to the several states was a Whig measure to assist them in the payment of foreign claims. The fact that this distribution was hedged behind the pledge to raise the tariff of 1833, and that the compromise would be violated if so raised, was not sufficient to meet the emergency. Two attempts to raise the rates of the tariff failed, but a third was successful and was passed without receiving the distribution bill. From that time on the tariff held a higher rate than 20 per cent., and, in consequence, the land

money distribution became a nullity of the past. The President gave this bill raising the tariff his signature.

7. **Annexation of Texas.**—Following these questions, the bank and the tariff, the annexation of Texas became the one theme of exciting interest. Southern Whigs and the Democrats favored it. Calhoun advocated it as a way to hold the balance of power. Clay opposed it, and Webster as well, yet they were unable to defeat it before the second session of the XXVIIIth Congress. The liberty party gave their opposition, all unavailing. The 8d of March, 1845, saw Florida become one of the states of the Union, and, because it was south of the Missouri compromise line, 36° 30', the slavery of the South became her legal heritage.

8. **Nominations for the Next Presidential Election.**—Pending this administration, with a Whig majority in both Houses, and the Democrats holding the reins through a Whig President with Democratic tendencies, there was little to be done but to wait and hope that the next presidential election would mend things. A convention for this purpose was held on May 1, 1844, at Baltimore, which put in nomination Henry Clay for President and Theodore Frelinghuysen for Vice-President. A policy was announced to this effect: a protective tariff, a national currency, and the distribution among the states of surplus revenues.

The 27th of May saw the Democrats in session in Baltimore, firm for "strict construction," to which they added a demand for 54° 40' or fight, with regard to our northwest boundary. The nomination of James K. Polk for President and George M. Dallas for Vice-President put them squarely on their platform. The Abolitionists had met August 30, 1843, denouncing slavery and recommending penal laws to stop the return of fugitive slaves to the south. They put up James G. Burney for President and Thomas Morris for Vice-President.

9. **The Result.**—The November, 1844, election settled the whole question. Had the Abolition vote of 62,300 been added to the vote for Clay he would have been elected. The electoral votes were 170 for Polk and Dallas to 105 for Clay. The popular Democratic vote was 1,337,243, and the Whig 1,299,068.

Polk and Dallas were inaugurated March 4, 1845.

Fifteenth Administration.

1. **Two New Issues.**—Besides the anti-slavery question, two new issues of great magnitude were now to be met. These were the Mexican and the Oregon questions.



JAMES K. POLK,

**Born in Mecklenburgh County, North Carolina,
November 2, 1795.**

President March 4, 1845-March 5, 1849.

Died at Nashville, Tennessee, June 15, 1849.

2. ***Texas Admitted Into the Union.**—Congress met December 1, 1845; on the 29th Texas was admitted into the Union with no provision as to slavery, most of the Whigs voting against and most of the Democrats for the bill. War with Mexico was the result, and, pending its progress, the Oregon question came up for solution.

3. **The Oregon Question.**—At first the President manifested a disposition to adhere to the principles of his position during the electioneering canvass—to claim the line of 54° 40'—but through the influence chiefly of Webster (Whig), Calhoun and Benton (Democrat), together with the gravity of the situation, he modified his demands by submitting the matter to be compromised by a new treaty

* Iowa was admitted in 1846 and Wisconsin in 1848.

based on that of 1842 between Daniel Webster, on the part of the United States, and Lord Ashburton, on the part of England. They agreed on the parallel of 49 as the proper boundary, but not till after bad blood had been stirred up on both sides, which line was established by commissioners from both countries in 1846. The dispute between the two countries on the northeastern boundary was settled also at the same treaty.

4. **The Mexican War.**—The Mexican war resulted in the acquisition of Texas, New Mexico, California and Arizona, by treaty, which increase of territory added fresh material for the slavery issue, anti-slavery agitation, to decide what portion of the newly acquired territory should be open to slavery. Calhoun, and his constituency, took the ground that all new territory should be open to it, and openly advocated disunion as the only alternative which the south could take, consistent with their honor.

5. **The Anti-Slavery Party.**—The Anti-Slavery party asserted their principles with all the force that justice and political economy, in their estimation demanded. While both the Whigs and Democrats of the North regretted their attitude, believing their agitation was transient, and would soon vanish before the other great issues of the country, and acted accordingly, but instead of this result their numbers continued to increase, and their demands grew more tenacious.

6. **Tariff for Revenue Only.**—During the XXIXth Congress the tariff bill of 1846 was passed. It was for revenue only, and not designed as protection.

7. **A Dead-Lock.**—The XXXth Congress was occupied by discussions as to the organization of the territory acquired from Mexico, but without any definite result. The pro-slavery element demanded that the whole of it should be open to slavery, but there was too strong a Free Soil force in the House to allow this, and a dead-lock on this question was the result.

8. **Policy of the Democratic Party.**—True to the time-honored policy of the Democratic party, Mr. Polk vetoed all bills for internal improvement passed during his administration, thereby carrying out a strict construction principle in the use of public funds.

9. **The Free Soilers.**—The late action of the southern section in opposing the organization of California and New Mexico, except as slave territories, had disgusted many northern people, and was the germ whence grew a new party called the Free Soilers, another name for Abolitionists perhaps not quite so odious.

**ZACHARY TAYLOR,**

Born in Orange County, Virginia,

November 24, 1784.

President March 5, 1849-July 9, 1850.

Died at Washington, D. C., July 9, 1850.

10. **Barn Burners and Hunkers.**—The Democratic convention, for the nomination of candidates for the next presidential term, met at Baltimore, May 22, 1848. To this convention two sets of delegates came from the state of New York, one representing such of the party as favored Free Soil, and the other, such as were willing to affiliate with the southern Democrats. The former were called Barn Burners (as a synonym of disgrace), and the latter Hunkers.

The Barn Burners retired from the convention, after much parliamentary discussion, and harmony then prevailed.

11. Democratic Candidates.—Lewis Cass, of Michigan, received the nomination for President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. The convention was firm in the strict construction policy, and silent on the anti-slavery issue; but voted down a resolution that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery.

12. The Free Soilers' Convention.—The Free Soilers held their national convention in Buffalo, August 9, and the Barn Burners, who had retired from the Democratic convention, joined them. It adopted a platform denying the power of Congress to create a slave state, and astonished the country by the nomination of Martin Van Buren for President. Charles Francis Adams was nominated for Vice-President. The Abolitionists joined them, and held no convention of their own.

13. The Whig Convention.—The Whig convention met at Philadelphia June 7, and nominated Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, for President, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for Vice-President. They were also silent on the slavery issue, which seemed to be growing more and more dangerous, but voted down a resolution to enforce the Wilmot proviso. This was an amendment proposed by Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, to a bill for the purchase of territory from Mexico. Said amendment providing that territory thus acquired should not be open to slavery. It was not carried, but became a salient premise, around which Free Soilers rallied.

14. The Wilmot Proviso.—The Wilmot Proviso had been introduced into the Whig convention, and a resolution that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery, into the Democratic convention (although both conventions voted respective resolutions down), which revealed the political tendency of each, as to the anti-slavery question; and was significant of a disposition of the majority of each convention to conceal their sentiments on the rising issue in question.

15. The Election was Exciting.—The popular election on the following November was unusually exciting. The Free Soilers had strong hopes of throwing the final election into the house, but when the electoral votes were counted, Taylor and Fillmore had 163, and Cass and Butler 127. The popular vote stood: 1,360,101 for Whigs, and 1,220,544 for the Democrats, and 291,263 for the Free Soilers, the latter showing a large gain in the anti-slavery sentiment of the country.

Taylor and Fillmore were inaugurated March 5, 1849.



MILLARD FILLMORE,

Born in the township of Locke, Cayuga County,
New York, January 7, 1800.

President July 9, 1850-March 1, 1853.

Died at Buffalo, New York, March 8, 1871.

Sixteenth Administration.

1. The Doctrines of "Squatter Sovereignty."—The efforts of statesmen and politicians to keep the anti-slavery question from becoming a positive issue in Congress had now reached its limit. The problem to be solved was, whether the newly acquired territory should be organized on the plan of the Wilmot Proviso the Missouri Compromise, or whether the doctrines of "Squatter Sovereignty" should prevail in them, which was to let the territory be open for settlement for both holders with their slaves and Free Soilers, and determine among themselves whether the states in it shall ultimately be free or slave states.

2. Calhoun's Views on the Slave Question. — The immensity of the territory to be organized awakened the apprehensions of the North, lest the South should fix their laws and institutions over it, thereby subordinating the whole country to slave rule by means of such an overwhelming pre-

ponderance. Calhoun contended that the Constitution was the Supreme law of the land, and covered every territory with its requirements; and inasmuch as it recognized slavery, any settler should be permitted to take his slaves to such territory and be protected in holding them.

3. Webster's Reply.—Daniel Webster the "great expounder," replied to him, that "the Constitution did not bind territories till they had been created into states," and while it provided the forms by which this could be done, "was inoperative as to the exercise of power over the territory." It could not exercise its functions even over a state, without acts of Congress to enforce it."

4. The Important Bills on the Calendar.—The most important bills now on the calendar were: a bill for the admission of California as a free state; a bill for the organization of Utah and New Mexico as territories, subject to become either free or slave states; a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and a stringent fugitive slave bill. Henry Clay, the great compromiser, undertook the task of engrafting them all into one "omnibus bill," as it was called, except the one for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, which he did not think expedient; and passing them through both Houses at a single balloting.

5. Various Propositions.—Jefferson Davis proposed the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific. Mr. Seward proposed the Wilmot Proviso to cover the territory in question. Calhoun's last speech was read by James M. Mason, while the debate on Clay's compromise was pending. It reiterated what he had said before, but he died two months afterward, March 31, 1850, not living to see the fate of the omnibus bill. Mr. Taylor, the President, also died before the pending issue was settled, and Mr. Fillmore became President July 10, 1850.

6. Clay's Omnibus Bill.—Clay's Omnibus bill ultimately became the basis on which the compromise was made, but not till after eloquence had been exhausted on both sides, and the country excited as it never had been before on a moral issue.

7. California Becomes a State.—California had begun to fill up so rapidly with gold seekers that it became a state September 9, 1850, and was admitted without slavery. New Mexico and Utah were organized as territories without the Wilmot Proviso, and the fugitive slave bill became a law.

8. The North and the South.—The South settled into an illy concealed tranquility and the North acquiesced

with equal grace, except the Anti-Slavery party, to whom the fugitive slave law was odious.

9. **The Democratic Convention.**—June 1, 1852, the Democratic convention met at Baltimore to nominate candidates for the next presidential term. It took more radical ground than ever before by endorsing the Kentucky resolutions of 1798, which it will be remembered placed the state rights above the Constitution. It also declared fidelity to the compromise of 1850, and was emphatic against slavery agitation. Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire and William King, of Alabama, were the candidates nominated.

10. **The Whig Convention.**—The Whig convention met at the same place on the 16th. It declared a similar policy to that of the Democrats, as to the compromise, but showed favor to a system of internal improvements. It nominated Winfield Scott, of Virginia, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina, as candidates for the next term.

11. **The Free Soil Convention.**—The Free Soil convention met at Pittsburg August 11. It denounced slavery, the compromise and the parties who supported it. John P. Hale of New Hampshire and George W. Julien, of Indiana were their candidates. The count of the electoral votes in February, 1853, succeeding the popular election, showed for Pierce and King 254, and for Scott and Graham 42 votes.

12. **Pierce and King Inaugurated.**—Pierce and King were inaugurated March 4, 1853. The popular vote was: For the Democratic ticket, 1,601,474; for the Whig ticket, 1,386,578; for the Free Soil ticket, 156,149.

13. **The State Election in Illinois.**—At the state election in Illinois, in 1852, the Free Soilers united with the Whigs on the election of E. B. Washburne, whom they sent to Congress. This triumph, while it broke the chain which had hitherto bound old parties together in this state, placed it in the skirmish line of the conflict that ensued, and in the front of the battle that turned the scale in the forum and the field.





FRANKLIN PIERCE,

**Born at Hillsborough, Hillsborough County, New
Hampshire, November 23, 1804.**

President March 4, 1853-March 4, 1857.

Died at Concord, New Hampshire, October 8, 1869.

Seventeenth Administration.

1. **The Compromise of 1850.**—That the compromise of 1850 had settled forever the slavery question, was the universal opinion of all parties except the radical anti-slavery men and women, the latter having by this time taken a conspicuous part in the discussion of the issue.

2. **Death of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun.**—Henry Clay, the great light of the Whigs, as well as the man to whom the nation had been indebted for the past compromises of the country, was no more. He had died at Washington, in the spring of 1852.

Daniel Webster, the man whose words fell like sledge-hammer blows upon the principles which he opposed while they carried an assurance of personal friendship with them, had also passed off the stage four months after the demise of his great peer.

J. C. Calhoun, whose integrity had never been questioned, even if his policy might be wrong, and whose eloquence was at par with Webster and Clay, had preceded them.

There were none who could fill their places in the popular heart—none who could be recognized as leaders to be followed by their respective constituency, left in the great political arena to take a part in the conflict now at hand.

3. **The Know Nothings.**—A new party called the Native American party, and designated as "Know-Nothings," representing a policy hitherto not considered by any former party, the fundamental principle of which was a religious resolution to "purge" the government from Roman Catholic influence, on the ground that it had allied itself to the Democratic party, and by virtue of this alliance our large cities were officered by Irish Catholics, now arose.

4. **Their Make Up.**—This party was made up largely from the Whig ranks, but in it were also many Democrats. It was at first a secret order, and hence an unknown quantity till the day of election, when results revealed the names of those for whom they had voted; but ere their influence was widely felt an unexpected turn of affairs, as to the slavery issue, came upon Congress that became a strategic point to occupy, which would give to their party vantage ground, who occupied it.

5. **The XXXIII^d Congress.**—The XXXIII^d Congress, the first of the new administration, opened December 5th, 1853. On the 4th a bill was introduced into the Senate to establish a territorial government for Nebraska, which was referred to the committee on territories, of which Stephen A. Douglas was chairman. Mr. Douglas reported the bill on the following day with amendments.

6. **A Special Report to the Senate.**—The true intent of the amendments as to whether they had annulled former compromises or not were not understood by the Senate, and to leave no doubt on this important point a special report was made to the Senate on the 4th of January, 1854, further amending the original bill in such language as could leave no doubt that its construction meant the overruling of the Missouri Compromise.

7. **Sectional Antagonism.**—The late compromise of 1850 had been a basis by which other contingent issues had been settled, and this sudden blow aimed at the dimensions tone of the compromise fabric created a sensation throughout the North, opening the flood gates of sectional antagonism.

8. **The Principle of "Squatter Sovereignty."**—Mr. Douglas defended the bill, on the ground that in 1848 a bill brought before Congress, for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific ocean, had been defeated, and that this defeat had made it necessary to effect

the compromise of 1850 to supersede it. He further stated that the object of the bill was not to legislate slavery into the territory in question, or to prevent its going there, but to leave the matter to be settled by its inhabitants. This view of the case was the principle of what was termed "squatter sovereignty."

9. **The Missouri Compromise.**—In reply to Mr. Douglas, Salmon P. Chase denied that the compromise of 1850 had superseded the Missouri Compromise, and to substantiate his premise quoted the language of Mr. Atchison, senator from Missouri, who, on that occasion, had declared that "though a grave error, the Missouri Compromise could not be repealed." Lewis Cass was one of the thirteen on the compromise in 1850, and to him Mr. Chase appealed to know if anything had been said by that committee about the supersedence of the Missouri Compromise. He remained silent.

10. **"The Kansas-Nebraska Bill."**—The debate on this bill began early in December, 1853, and terminated with its passage May 25, 1854, slightly modified but clearly superseding the Missouri Compromise, thereby opening the new territories to slavery. The bill included Kansas, by a change from its first name to that of "The Kansas-Nebraska Bill."

11. **Whigs Divide.**—Up to this time the Whigs had held intact their organization, but now their leaders, as well as even the most insignificant tyro in their camp, could feel the wedge of disintegration penetrating to the heart of their body politic. The southern Whigs had largely deserted them and gone over to the Democrats when any measure touching slavery had come before Congress. A few of them had joined the American party.

12. **Power in the North.**—The Free Soilers were an acknowledged power in the North not to be despised, and the problem now was to find a political nucleus around which to gather in opposition to the Democratic party, by whose quasi alliance the South had managed to divide the political forces of the North and conquer them in detail.

13. **"Border Ruffians."**—The border war between Kansas settlers and Missouri raiders called "Border Ruffians," grew from the rivalry which had sprung up between slave party at the South and the Emigrant Aid Society of the North to fill up Kansas with their respective classes of settlers. In this contest the North had the advantage from their locality, took the lead and kept it, but the superior numbers did not avail them in the election, for the Border Ruffians overran the state and prevented them from victory.

14. A New Political Faith.—The result was to make proselytes throughout the country to a new political faith and the names of Free Soilers, Anti-Nebraska Men, etc., soon began to be looked upon with usual favor.

15. Transitory State of Politics.—Pending this transitory state of politics, the American party had elected several members of the House and some ambitious politicians began to spread their sails to the breeze under an impression that they were destined to rise above any other party. They joined hands with the Anti-Nebraska men and elected their speaker, N. P. Banks, at the opening of the XXXIVth Congress. Meanwhile Kansas became the "cockpit" of the contest. The slavery party of the territory held their election in accordance with constitutional forms, at least outwardly and established their legislature at Shawnee, under the auspices of President Pierce.

16. The Free Statesmen.—The free statesmen held their election and established their legislature at Topeka. Each framed a constitution for the state; one recognizing slavery, the other prohibiting it. By order of the president the Topeka legislature was dispersed July 4, 1856, the Shawnee legislature being the one recognized by the administration.

17. The Free State Settlers Outnumbered their Opponents.—The free state settlers of Kansas claimed that they greatly outnumbered their opponents and that the Shawnee Legislature was created by fraudulent votes and violence. On the 19th of March, 1856, the subject was taken under consideration in the House, and John Sherman, of Ohio; William A. Howard, of Michigan, and Mordicia Oliver, of Missouri, were appointed as a committee to go to Kansas, gather evidence and make a report as to the validity of their elections. When they returned they pronounced the elections of the free states party legal and valid.

18. The Tariff Bill of 1857.—No bills were passed to retrieve this strain. During this session the tariff bill of 1857 became a law. It was a reduction of former rates. During Mr. Pierce's entire administration he adhered to the strict construction policy and opposed the anti-slavery agitation.

19. Republicans.—Thus far the free soilers had only been successful in destroying the Whig party, but their work was only begun. Free soil and a policy by which slavery could at least be subordinated to a wholesome restraint, was demanded by the North, and to bring such a salutary measure into practical working order all parties

except the extreme strict-construction Democrats united under the name of Republicans.

20. The Contest was Doubtful.—Even with the united strength of all these, the contest was doubtful, for the South was unanimous and it was morally certain that some of the northern states were not yet ready to take the (in the estimation of many) "fatal step" which might involve a civil war. In this emergency the "Know-Nothing" party, under the hopeful incentive that their issue would naturalize the main one, or bridge over the "evanescent" (as some style it) wave of excitement, assembled at Philadelphia in convention, February 22, 1856, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

21. Sincere in their Convictions.—Probably no large body of men had ever before or since congregated with such versatile lights and shades, in a political sense. That the majority of them were sincere in their convictions and assertions that "Americans should rule America," there is no reason to doubt; but it is certain that there were friends of slavery in the convention who tried their utmost to give the new political faith a momentum, under the impression that it would divide the Republican strength. A respectable moiety of the convention were free-soilers, and their attempt to put a plank into the platform, recommending the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, failing they withdrew from the convention, leaving the field subtleness of these opponents.

22. Nominations.—Millard Fillmore, of New York, and Andrew Jackson Donaldson, of Tennessee, were their candidates for President and Vice-President. The Democrat nominating convention had already been held at Cincinnati, on the 16th of June, and James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, for President, and John C. Breckinridge for Vice-President, had been nominated. Strict construction, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, then a political faith, were adhered to with great unanimity.

The Republican convention met at Philadelphia June 17th, John C. Fremont for President and William L. Dayton for Vice-President, were their candidates. Internal improvements, the prohibition of slavery and polygamy in the territories, and free Kansas, were their emphatically acknowledged policy.

23. A Heavy Strain of Antagonism.—The canvass exceeded in earnestness any former one. The press, the pulpit, and the forum were on a heavy strain of antagonism, not to call it a harder name, till the day of election.

24. Results of the Election.—The count of the votes of the electoral college in the following February showed for Buchanan and Breckinridge, 174; for Fremont and Dayton, 114. The Democratic popular vote was 1,838,169; the Republican popular vote, 1,341,264; the Know-Nothings 874,534.

Buchanan and Breckinridge were inaugurated March 4, 1857.

Eighteenth Administration.

1. Triumph of the Democrats.—The late triumph of the Democrats in the face of such sanguinary opposition seemed to carry conviction, looking through conservative spectacles, that this party had a perpetual lease of power. But the under current was too strong to give general currency to such a conclusion, notwithstanding that the slave interest thus far had always won when brought in competition with the anti-slavery interests.



JAMES BUCHANAN,

Born at Stony Batter, Franklin County, Pa.,

April 22, 1791.

President March 4, 1857-March 4, 1861.

Died at Wheatland, Pa., June 1, 1868.

2. The Dred-Scott Case.—During the heat of the late canvass the Dred-Scott case came before the judiciary department at Washington. The owner of the slave Dred had taken him from Missouri to Illinois in 1834, and after four years' residence in that state had taken him to Minnesota, from where he subsequently returned with him to Missouri and sold him, after which the slave brought suit for his freedom in the circuit court of St. Louis county, Missouri, on the ground of his master having voluntarily taken him to a free state. He obtained a verdict in his favor, but the case was appealed till it got into the supreme court of the United States. This court decided that, according to the constitution, he who had ever been a slave had no rights which a white man was bound to respect.

3. Corruption of Principle.—Such a corruption of principle, as this decision was claimed to be, intensified the contest by giving a new impetus to free soil efforts in the North, while it imparted to the South a confidence in their own power which the sequel proved to be. All Kansas was an inviting theater on which to fight out the issue, which was whether this debatable soil was ultimately to be free or slave. Neither John Brown's exploit at Osawatimie, nor the sacking of Lawrence by Border Ruffians could settle this question, nor could the many daring acts of aggressive proselytism which were committed by both sides, but there was one issue on which seemed to hang the fate of Kansas, and this was the official action to be taken as to the validity of the Lecompton constitution.

4. Convention to Form a Constitution for Kansas.—The act providing for the convention to form a constitution for Kansas authorized a census to be taken, enumerating the legal voters in the territory, April 1, 1857. In counties which had been settled by free state men no census was taken, and in apportioning the delegates for the constitutional convention the governor classed these counties with others more favorable to slavery, and they were really misrepresented in the convention. Under these disadvantages the free state men refused to send delegates to the convention.

It met at Lecompton in September, and framed a constitution recognizing slavery, which articles in this document were to be voted on.

5. Free State Men Refuse to Vote.—Most of the Free State men refused to vote at all, on the ground that they had not been fairly represented in the apportionment of delegates to draft the instrument. Nor did they recognize as right the unusual plan of being obliged to accept a con-

stitution, subject only to their power to change a single section of it, especially as there were other portions of it distasteful to them, to correct which no provision had been made.

The election came off December 21, 1857. In favor of the constitution with slavery were 8,193 votes and against it 589.

6. **Feeling of Indignation Through the North.**—This discrimination in favor of the slave interest, produced a deep feeling of indignation through the North. Frederick P. Stanton was then secretary under Robert A. Walker, the governor, but Mr. Walker being absent at Washington, Mr. Stanton had to act in his place, and he ordered an election to be held on the 4th of January, 1858, in which the people might vote for or against the constitution entire.

7. **Election Fraud.**—Against the constitution 10,226 votes were polled; for the constitution with slavery, 138 votes, and for it without slavery, 24 votes. At the same time, state officers and a representative to congress were voted for. The Free State men carried their entire ticket by a large majority, as reported by the presiding officers of the election, except Mr. J. Calhoun, who, instead of acknowledging the validity of this election, added a number of spurious names to the list of voters to secure a pro-slavery majority, which names it was afterward proven were copied from an old Cincinnati directory. The charge of this election fraud was confirmed by Mr. Stanton and Governor Walker rejected the returns as fraudulent. Meantime, Mr. Calhoun, being obliged to flee from Kansas, found refuge in Washington, but fearing to present the list of names to the administration, certificates were given to the Free State officers according to the first election returns.

8. **The Lecompton Constitution.**—Notwithstanding these disclosures, President Buchanan on the following month, February, 1858, submitted the Lecompton Constitution to Congress, recommending its ratification, and in his expressed opinion said: "Kansas is therefore at this moment as much a slave state as Georgia or South Carolina." The only apology for which must have been that of state rights doctrine guaranteed in the constitution right or wrong, beyond the reach of control by Congress.

9. **A Bitter Contest.**—This aggressive step produced a bitter contest in which Stephen A. Douglas took a leading part by the advocacy of his favorite doctrine of popular sovereignty, and applying it to Kansas.

10. **The Democratic Convention and Their Platform.**—The Democratic convention to nominate candidates for the next presidential term met at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1861. Douglas refused to endorse the Lecompton Consti-

tution, or to renounce the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and the majority of the convention sustaining him in this, most of the southern members withdrew, when the convention proceeded to ballot for candidates, but no choice could be made, and the convention adjourned to meet again in Baltimore, June 18th, at which place it nominated Mr. Douglas for President, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, for Vice-President. Their platform represented popular sovereignty as its main stay.

11. Southern Delegates.—The Southern delegates met at Richmond and nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, of course without any expectation that their candidates could be elected, but their resentment had been aroused, and candor was impossible.

12. Know-Nothing Convention.—The American or Know-Nothing convention met at Baltimore May 19, and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts.

13. The Republican Convention and its Platform.—The Republican convention met at Chicago May 16, 1860. In its platform it maintained the constitutional right to make internal improvements at the expense of the national treasury. But the slavery question overshadowed all else, and care was taken that no equivocal language should be used in the platform on this point. Slavery was to be opposed in the territories as a constitutional right. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was nominated as candidate for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President.

14. The Douglas Democrats.—The Douglas Democrats fully recognized slavery, protected by constitutional rights in the territories, till it had been rendered illegal there by popular vote. The southern Democrats, among whom were also many northern men, held that since the repeal of the Missouri compromise had legalized slavery in the territories under constitutional rights, neither the state nor the Congress had any power to vote it out. Douglas laid down a plan for changing slave territory into free territory by a popular vote, but the other faction made this impossible.

15. Distinction Between the Two Parties.—In acknowledging the validity of the Lecompton constitution, this distinction between the two parties was put to a practical test—Douglas went one way and Buchanan the other, working against each other, while both worked against the "Black Republicans."

16. Quarrel Over the Kansas Issue.—During the heat of the presidential campaign that followed Congress con-

tinued to quarrel over the Kansas issue, and various attempts were made to procure the admission of the state into the Union, all of which were promptly voted down, till the pro-slavery force had become reduced in the Senate by the withdrawal of five senators, whose respective states had passed ordinances of secession.

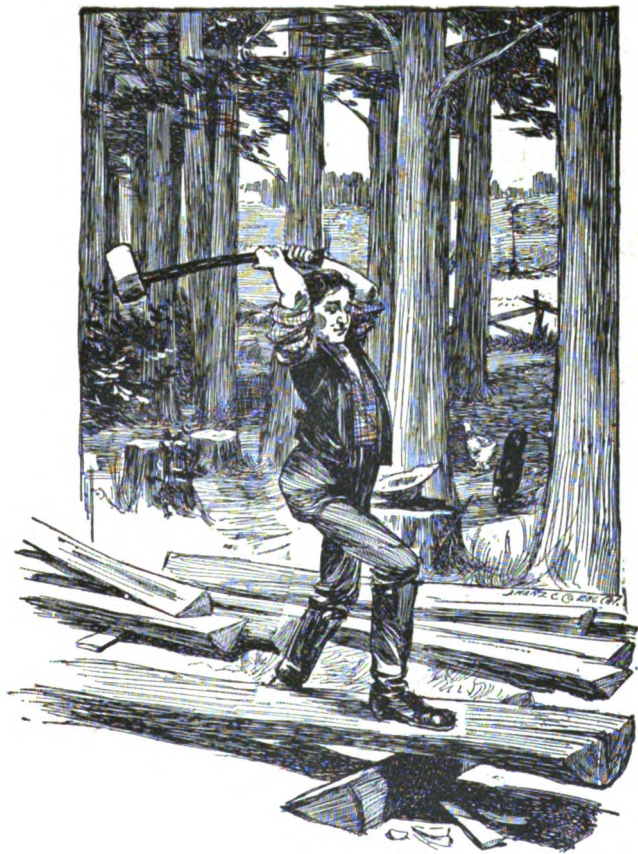
17. Kansas Admitted Into the Union.*—Thus weakened in opposition to free Kansas the senate passed an act for her admission into the Union, January 21, 1861—yeas 36, nays 16. The state was admitted under a constitution which the Free State men had framed at a convention assembled at Wyandotte in March, 1859, and by this act of Congress the most irritating controversy it had ever witnessed was at an end—as far as legislation could control it. The Morrill tariff bill was passed at the same session.

18. The Result of the Campaign.—The November election passed off amid the din of wordy strife between the three parties. The electoral college assembled in February, and the result of the campaign gave for Lincoln and Hamlin 180 votes; for Douglas and Johnson 12; for Bell and Everett 39; and for Breckinridge and Lane 72.

19. No sooner was the result of the election known, than the southern leaders who had threatened to break up the Union, proceeded to carry out their threats. South Carolina first seceded, and by February 1 six other states had passed ordinances of secession. February 4, six states met and formed "The Confederate States of America," and selected Jefferson Davis as President, and Richmond, Va., as the capital.

20. Lincoln and Hamlin Inaugurated.—Lincoln and Hamlin were inaugurated March 4, 1861. The popular vote stood 1,866,350 for Lincoln and Hamlin, 1,375,157 for Douglas and Johnson, 589,581 for Bell and Everett, and 845,763 for Breckinridge and Lane.

* Minnesota was admitted in 1858 and Oregon in 1859.



YOUNG LINCOLN SPLITTING RAILS.

Nineteenth Administration.

1. **A Deep Sensation.**—The election of Abraham Lincoln caused a deep sensation throughout the entire country, but from several different lines of thought in viewing its destined revolt.

2. **Actual War.**—Those who thought the most deeply on the matter were not hasty in predicting its consequence, but pending the interim of suspense which preceded his inauguration few supposed that actual war would come, till on the fatal 14th of April, 1861, Fort Sumpter was fired on and taken by an armed force of rebels, in Charleston, S. C. This method of opening the war was chosen to "fire the southern heart," to use the expression made by Jefferson Davis, the president of the Southern Confederacy,



JEFFERSON DAVIS,
President of the Southern Confederacy.

which effect though produced fire in the northern heart not anticipated by Mr. Davis, especially the firing of it almost universally with antagonism. There is good evidence that the southern leaders did not anticipate a general war, but a comparatively peaceful acquiescence, in a separation, and even General Scott in speaking on the subject, foreshadowed a war of far greater magnitude than was generally anticipated, the only alternative to which was to say "Wayward sister, depart in peace."

3. **Radicalism Had an Advantage Over Conservatism.**—Even Horace Greeley advised a peaceable separation, but quickly rescinded such counsels when the spontaneous uprising had time to manifest itself. Conservatism in the breath of politicians was now put to the rack of painfully contending emotions. It took a little time to throw away red or green spectacles and put on a pair of colored ones, through which the policy of the country could be seen in the light of reason untrammelled by either prejudices or opinionated vanity, but here was a dilemma in which radicalism had an advantage over conservatism and impulse over hesitancy, for radicalism and impulse became the watchword now and prompt war measures were taken to put an army into the field, though against the advice of a very few, who opposed the war as impolitic, not to say unjust.

4. **The Progress of the War.**—But while the progress of the war had the effect to create two classes of Democrats, known as peace and war Democrats, it also created two classes of Republicans, one class demanding an immediate freeing of the slaves and the other not unwilling yet to take such a radical measure. From the first time this policy was canvassed by advocates on both sides, not in a captious spirit, but under a conviction of supposed principles of political economy, and especially war economy.

5. **The Policy of the Administration.**—Under this division of sentiment the policy of the administration was cautious and moderate in action. First it accepted the services of such slaves as came within the Union lines on the ingenious assumption (of which General B. F. Butler was the author) that they were contraband—a principle that no casuistry could gainsay, from whatever view might be taken in the premises. If the slave was a chattel he constituted the material of war—he built forts for his master. If he was a citizen, and turned apostate to the cause of his country, the rules of war warranted the acceptance of his services in the Union cause. But accepting him as a contraband disarmed opposition from the peace party of the North, with whom peace meant a northern policy which

should restore harmony to the nation by reinstating the rebels to their political standing before the war began, to do which it was all important that the slave should remain in bondage; and consistent with this theory he must not be accepted in the Union service as a citizen.

6: **The Way Toward Universal Emancipation.**—That this initiatory step did much to open the way toward universal emancipation there can be no reasonable doubt. It had broken through the web of toils that environed the Democratic heart of the North, whose aversion to freeing



ALEXANDER H. STEVENS,

Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy.

the slave had long been canonized into a political faith; nor was the Republican party at first in favor of such a decisive step, except the old abolition element in it, which it may with no impropriety be called its vitalizing element.

7. **The Proclamation of Emancipation.**—The proclamation of emancipation was issued on the 22d of September, 1862, to go into effect on the 1st of January following. A storm of indignation followed from the peace party, but

the little ripple it raised in the sea of public opinion was soon lost in the tempestuous waves of war. It was a thunderbolt in the camp of the enemy, but they generally received it in sullen silence, like the Indian warrior who, when taken captive and tortured with fire, bravely conceals his emotions.

8. **The XXXVIIth Congress.**—Previous to this decisive measure, the XXXVIIth Congress had made ample provisions for a revenue, in which a slight increase of the tariff of the previous session had some part, and the home-stead bill had been passed.

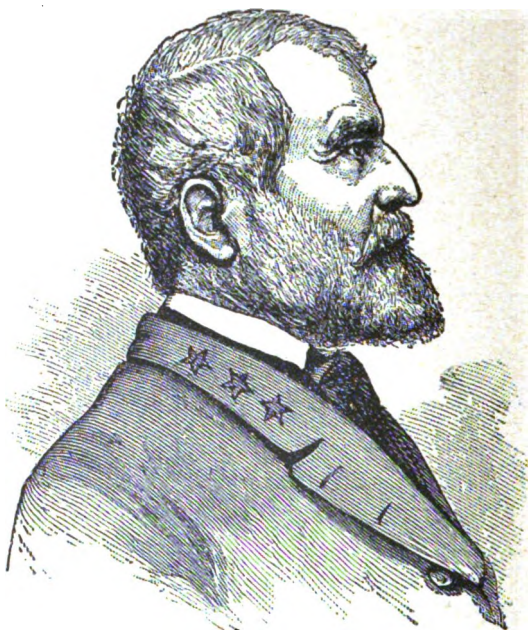
9. **National Banking Law.**—At the second session of the same Congress an act was passed to provide a currency, secured by United States stocks, which was a national banking law, the plan of which was drawn up by S. P. Chase, the secretary of the treasury. A conscription act for drafting men into the army and the suspension of habeas corpus were also passed during this session. A war of words followed which was carried on by peace men, but no violent acts were committed.

10. **The War Prolonged.**—The war had been prolonged far beyond the prediction of leading Republicans, and had, consequently, created unexpected opposition from the Democratic party, or perhaps, more properly speaking, from the rump of this party.

11. **Censure Upon the Administration.**—The time for holding conventions, to choose candidates for the next presidential term, was near at hand, and the Democratic party made the most they could of the defeats of the Union arms to bring censure upon the administration, while it violently attacked its martial law and conscription policy. Withal the war itself was carried on by their assistance, individually, but as a party only in a modified sense.

12. **The Republican Nominating Convention.**—Under this strain the Republican nominating convention met at Baltimore June 7, 1864. It was the darkest hour of the war, but unconditional surrender of the rebels was emphatically demanded, nor was there any toning down of ultra-abolition sentiment in the convention. Abraham Lincoln for President and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President, were nominated.

13. **The Democratic Convention.**—The Democratic convention met at Chicago on the following August, the 29th. Had this party understood its true interests, it would not have held any convention at all during the strain of a war for which they did not hold themselves responsible, but greatly to their discredit, stump orators, if men of neither



MAJOR-GEN. ROBERT E. LEE.

patriotism nor reason nor common sense could be called such, ventilated their bad blood in abusing Mr. Lincoln.

14. **A Recoil in Public Sentiment.**—Philosophic minds can penetrate a principle, and forecast a policy wherewith to bring it into practice; but the experiences of time and events may be necessary to bring such a principle to the understanding of a popular wave of excitement. But the men composing the peace Democracy were not philosophers. They were men who had ever been victorious in elections till "Black Republicans" had, in an evil hour, as they claimed, out-voted them, and brought on the war. These men, instead of the more moderate members of the party, were the orators of their conventions, and their emphatic denunciations of the war, which they pronounced a failure, and their caustic criticisms of the administration produced

a recoil in public sentiment which greatly strengthened the Union cause, for it was apparent to every one not blinded by zeal without knowledge that the best elements of the Democratic party were in the field fighting the common enemy, and that the only ground on which the present opposition to the administration stood was paradoxical.

15. **Results of the Election.**—When the votes of the electoral college were counted in February succeeding the popular election of November, 1864, George B. McClellan, of New Jersey, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, the Democratic nominees, had but 21 votes, while Lincoln and Johnson had 212.

They were inaugurated March 4, 1865. The popular vote stood: Republican, 2,216,067; Democratic, 1,808,725.



THE HON. CARL SCHURZ, of Missouri.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

Born in Hardin (now La Rue) County, Ky.,

February 12, 1809.

President March 4, 1861-April 15, 1865.

Died at Washington, D. C., April 15 1865.

Twentieth Administration.

1. A Great Hero.—Among the heroes of the world was there ever one so great and so untrammelled with ostentation, as Abraham Lincoln. The rebellion had been crushed by the force of arms, under his guidance through all its tortures, too intricate for ordinary minds to fathom.

2. Assassination of President Lincoln.—A wave of exultation was rolling over the country, and at the height of its tide, on the 14th of April, 1865, Mr. Lincoln was shot

dead at Ford's theater, in Washington by John Wilkes Booth. Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, succeeded to the presidency, and never before in the history of the nation, had its chief executive taken such extravagant responsibilities upon himself in violation of the conviction of Congress as he did.

3. Reconstruction Committee Appointed.—Congress did not meet till December 4, when among their first business they appointed a reconstruction committee. This was offensive to Mr. Johnson, and he dishonored the dignity of his high office by acting the part of a low-class lawyer in denouncing their action. From his action he intended evidently to restore the original doctrine of state rights which in turn modified or perhaps rendered inoperative the emancipation proclamation, but not having even one-third of Congress on his side, his veto power was incipient to act as a bar to its designs which were in harmony with the public voice of reason.

4. The Civil War Declared to be at an End.—On the 2d of April, the President, by proclamation declared the civil war to be at an end. Congress meanwhile was working assiduously in perfecting its plan for re-organization. Tennessee was formally restored to the Union by that body on the 23d of July; the 28th of that month, after a long and arduous session, Congress adjourned.

5. Notable Events.—Meanwhile notable events in the foreign relations of the government had occurred. The Emperor of the French had been informed that the continuation of French troops in Mexico was not agreeable to the United States, and on the 5th of April (1866), Napoleon's secretary for foreign affairs gave assurance to our government that these troops should be withdrawn. The state elections, held in the autumn of 1866, indicated the decided approval by the people of the reorganization plans of Congress, as opposed to that of the President, who was openly affiliated with the Democratic party and the late enemies of the government in the South and elsewhere. The majority in Congress felt strengthened by the popular approval of their course, and went steadily forward in perfecting measures for the restoration of the Union.

6. Steps for Restraining the Action of the President.—They took steps for restraining the action of the President, who, it was manifest, had determined to carry out his policy in defiance to that of Congress. And as an indication of the general policy of the latter concerning suffrage, a bill was passed December 14 by a large majority of both Houses for granting the elective franchise in the District of Colum-

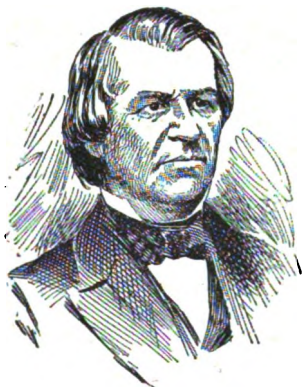
bia, over which Congress has direct control, to persons "without any distinction on account of color or race." The President vetoed the bill, January 7, 1867, when it was re-enacted by the constitutional vote of two-thirds of the members of both Houses in its favor.

7. **Charges Brought Against Andrew Johnson.**—On the same day, January 7, Mr. Ashley, representative from Ohio, arose in his seat and charged "Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and acting President of the United States, with the commission of acts, which in the estimation of the Constitution, are crimes and misdemeanors, for which he ought to be impeached." He offered specifications and a resolution instructing the committee on the judiciary to make inquiries on the subject. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 187 to 98, 45 members not voting.

This was the first public movement in the matter of the President, which resulted in his trial in May, 1868.

8. **Bills Vetoed by the President.**—At a former session of Congress bills were passed for the admission of the territories of Colorado and Nebraska as states of the Union. The President interposed. Now similar bills were passed, prescribing as a preliminary to admission in their Constitution granting impartial suffrage to their citizens and the ratification of the amendment to the Constitution. The President vetoed them; when that for the admission of Nebraska was passed over his veto. That territory became a state on the first of March, making the thirty-seventh. A bill limiting the authority of the President in making official appointments and removals from office, known as the "Tenure of Office Act," was passed, and was vetoed by the President, and passed his veto, repealing so much of an act of July 17, 1862, as gave the President power to grant amnesty and pardon to those who had been engaged in the rebellion. A bill was also passed, with the same opposition from the President, for the military government of the disorganized states. The XXXIXth Congress closed its last session on the 3d of March, and the XLth Congress began its first session immediately thereafter.

9. **The Conduct of the President and Action of the National Legislature.**—In view of the conduct of the President, which threatened the country with revolution, this action of the national Legislature was deemed necessary for the public good. It adjourned on the 31st of March, to meet on the first Wednesday in July. Congress assembled on the 4th of July, and on the 20th adjourned to meet on the 21st of November. The chief business of the short session was to adopt measures for removing the obstructions cast by the

**ANDREW JOHNSON,**

Born at Raleigh, Wake County, North Carolina,

December 29, 1808.

President April 15, 1865-March 4, 1869.

Died in Carter County, Tenn., July 31, 1875.

President in the way of a restoration of the disorganized states. A bill supplementary to the one for the military government of those states was passed over the usual veto of the President, and it was believed that the chief magistrate would refrain from further acts calculated to disturb the public peace. Not so. Immediately after the adjournment of Congress he proceeded, in defiance of that body and in violation of the tenure of office act, to remove the Secretary of War (Mr. Stanton) and to place General Grant in his place. The President first asked (August 5, 1867) the Secretary to resign. Mr. Stanton refused. A week later the President directed General Grant to assume the duty of Secretary of War. Grant obeyed. Stanton retired under protest, well satisfied that his office was left in the hands of a patriot whom the President could not corrupt or unlawfully control.

10. **Hour of Seeming Peril to the Republic.**—The removal of the Secretary of War was followed by the removal of General Sherman from the command of the Fifth District, and General Sickles from that of the Second District, by which the country was notified, that the most faithful

officers who were working with the representatives of the people for the proper and speedy restoration of the Union would be deprived of power to be useful. General Grant protested against these acts, but in vain. The country was greatly excited and the loyal people waited with impatience the reassembling of congress upon which they relied in that hour of seeming peril to the republic.

11. Mr. Stanton Reinstated as Secretary of War.—That body met at the appointed time, and on the 12th of December the President sent to the Senate a statement of his reasons for removing the Secretary of War. They were not satisfactory, and on the 13th of January the Senate reinstated Mr. Stanton and General Grant retired from the war department. Already Congress had made much progress toward the restoration of the disorganized states of the Union, by providing for conventions for framing constitutions and electing members of Congress; and a few days after the restoration of Mr. Stanton, a new bill for the further reorganization of those states was passed by the House of Representatives, in which large powers were given to the General in Chief of the Armies, in their military governments, and depriving the President of all power to interfere in the matter.

12. Attempt to Impeach the President.—During this conflict Congress made an attempt to impeach the President for what was claimed to be an overt violation of the constitution in his attempt to expel Mr. Stanton from the Cabinet, but it required a two-thirds vote to do this, and Johnson being saved from disgrace by a surplus vote, filled out his term.

13. The Republican Convention.—The Republican convention for nominating candidates for the next term met at Chicago May 20, 1868. It was unwavering in its resolution to secure the suffrage of the liberated slave and to carry out the principles already begun by the former administration as to restoration.

Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, were nominated as candidates.

14. The Democratic Convention.—The Democratic convention met in New York City July 4. It demanded that seceding states should be restored to their former status in the Union without condition and left the question of negro suffrage to be settled by each state in its own way.

Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, were the candidates.

15. Amendments to the Constitution.—"Sink the slave question and elevate the money question," became practi-

cally the motto, and to this end amendments were made to the Constitution, which gave the ballot to the slave after having liberated him.

16. **The XVth Amendment.**—The XVth amendment was the last of these. It was made by the resolution of Congress February 26, 1869, and became the law of the land after having been ratified by two-thirds of the states. This was the last act in the drama (to use a metaphor) that raised up and hurled down the rebellion. The tide was now turning, and with it the minor details of reconstruction.

17. **Electoral and Popular Votes.**—The electoral votes for the candidates for the next presidential term were counted in February, 1869. Grant and Colfax had 214, Seymour and Blair had 80.

The popular vote stood: For the Republicans, 3,012,833; for the Democrats, 2,703,249. Grant and Colfax were inaugurated March 4, 1869.

Twenty-First Administration.

1. **Inroads Into the Shore Lines of the Republic.**—The ponderous waves of the civil war had made its inroads into the shore lines of the republic, as it was, and brought new issues upon Congress as to political rights of the seceding states, which had now by the condition of war brought upon themselves a state of territorial bondage. This had been the ground on which the preceding administration had appointed principal governors for each of the states lately in rebellion. But there was a division of sentiment on this question among the northern people, nor was this feeling entirely limited to party lines.

2. **Ratification of the Amendment to the Constitution.**—Pending this political state of affairs, the administration had taken such measures as forced this method sore against their will to ratify the amendment to the Constitution; which gave liberty and civil rights to the slaves ere they would be represented in Congress, and to remove obstacles to their new policy the supreme bench had pronounced this amendment constitutional ere the revolted states had been required to accept them.

3. **The Right of Franchise to the Colored Race.**—As might be supposed this was, in a political sense, "the most unkindest cut of all," to force a state to pass sentence on itself, but there was no other way out of the dilemma,



ULYSSES S. GRANT,

**Born at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio,
April 27, 1822.**

President March 4, 1869-March 4, 1877.

Died at Mt. McGregor, New York, July 23, 1885.

and each state out of the Union by acts of rashness came in again by acts of humility, Georgia being the last to yield, which she did February 10, 1870. And here it is not improper to say, that in as much as the acts had not been submitted to a popular vote, let a halo of charity be thrown over the American citizen whose courage shielded his honor, though spent in a vain and urgent cause, to which sentiment American manhood must respond. And here let it not be forgotten that by the stern decree of war we forced

the South to do what we had not done ourselves, and might never have done but for the war, and to be consistent, to extend the right of franchise to the colored race.

4. **Issue of Bonds.**—During the XL1st Congress the national debt was funded. Bonds were issued to the amount of \$200,000,000 on interest at five per cent., payable at the pleasure of the government after ten years; bonds were issued to the amount of \$300,000,000, payable after fifteen years, bearing four and one-half per cent. interest; and bonds were issued to the amount of \$1,000,000,000, payable after thirty years, at four per cent. interest.

5. **"Carpet Baggers."**—The provincial Governors had become objects of great aversion to the southern people, and that very questionable means had been taken to render their official acts of no effect was clearly proven by the testimony of committees sent to the South to make reports. In Congressional discussions on this subject the Democrats stigmatized the provincial Governors as "carpet baggers," and made the most of their mistakes or "despotic acts" to censure them, and the Republican policy which had sent them to their field of unthankful, though lucrative, labor.

6. **The Enforcement Act.**—The enforcement act became a law May 31, 1870. It gave the President all the authority necessary to protect the free men in those civil rights that the amendments to the Constitution had guaranteed to them, but the failure of fully achieving the desired end furnished another of the many illustrations afforded by history that public opinion sometimes takes the form of the higher law.

7. **General Grant Nominated for a Second Term.**—Republican National Convention met at Philadelphia, January 5, 1872. In its platform no abatement of its vigorous reconstruction policy was made. General Grant was nominated for a second term as candidate for President, and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, candidate for Vice-President.

8. **Liberal Republicans.**—The Republican party were not unanimous in his support, owing to the extreme measure which had been taken in reconstructing the states lately in rebellion. They called themselves Liberal Republicans, and had already held their nominating convention in Cincinnati on May 1.

Horace Greeley, of New York, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, were their nominees.

9. **Position of the Democrats.**—The Democratic convention met in Baltimore on the 9th of July following. The position they occupied was peculiar. The Liberal Repub-

licans had already occupied the only ground on which they could take issue with the Republicans, and they joined hands with them by accepting their standard bearer as their own.

10. Not Regarded with Favor by the Old Time Democrats.—This official act of the leaders of the party, however political it might have been, was not regarded with favor by the old time Democrats, and they met in convention at Louisville, Ky., September 3, and nominated for President Charles O'Connor, of New York, and Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, as candidates for the next term.

11. Their Platform.—In their platform they repudiated the action of the preceding Democratic convention of Baltimore, and aimed a blow at the reconstruction acts of the administration, by a resolution that the constitution of each state was sufficient to protect life, liberty and property within its domain.

12. Anti-Masonry Come to the Surface Again.—The subject of Anti-Masonry had been dormant in political circles since 1836, but it now came to the surface again under the name of the National Christian Association for the purpose of engrafting it into state policy. To this end a convention was held in Oberlin, Ohio, May 23, 1872, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, in which Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, and Rev. J. L. Barlow were chosen as standard bearers.

13. The Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic.—Besides opposition to secret societies their platform contained resolutions against spirituous liquor traffic, and in favor of legal enactments to enforce the sacred keeping of the Sabbath. The prohibition of the liquor traffic had long been a subject of legislation in many of the states, but now for the first time it was to be introduced into national politics by its advocates.

14. Candidates.—A nominating convention met for this object in Columbus, Ohio, February 22. James Black, of Pennsylvania, and John Bussel, of Michigan, were chosen as candidates for President and Vice-President.

15. An Emphatic Protest.—Their platform was an emphatic protest against the manufacture or sale of spirituous liquors, and recognized the right of the State to prohibit both by legislation. It can hardly be denied that out of the conscientious motives so many Republicans had refused to endorse the impolicy of the military governors that there were some apprehension that the Greeley departure might become the channel. The possibility of this

called forth prompt and energetic advocacy on the part of the straight Republicans. O'Connor and Adams had refused to run on the straight Democratic ticket, and this complicated the matter in the eyes of sensitive Republicans. But if the contest had been doubtful at first, it did not long remain so. "What Mr. Greeley knew about farming," and his having signed the bail bond of Jefferson Davis, together with various honest eccentricities in his social as well as his political life, were made the instruments by which supreme ridicule had been unmercifully showered down upon the "Philosopher," as he was called in contempt, and he died several weeks after the day of election, as some averred, from the effects of the mortification consequent upon these attacks.

16. Results of the Election.—The votes of the electoral college in the following February showed for Grant and Wilson 286.

There were 66 Democratic votes; 42 were cast for Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, who had been substituted for Mr. Greeley deceased, and 24 were scattering.

Brown, the candidate for Vice-President, received 47 votes, and there 14 scattering. The votes of Louisiana and Arkansas were rejected, on the ground of alleged fraud in the election. The popular vote stood, Republicans, 3,597,132; Democrat, or Greeley Republicans, 2,834,125; Prohibition, 5,508.

Grant and Wilson were inaugurated March 4, 1873.

Twenty-Second Administration.

1. Friction Growing Out of Reconstruction.—The friction growing out of reconstruction was still manifest when General Grant began his second term.

Under the authority of the provincial governors of the states lately in rebellion, the slave had become a citizen according to the new change in the Constitution. This was owned as a humiliation by the white citizen, and after the military governors had been withdrawn the old doctrine of state rights was brought into requisition wherewith to mitigate their grievances as they considered them. But, alas for their cherished "palladium of liberty" as the South viewed it! State rights as to qualifications for the right of suffrage were no more. The new changes in the Constitution of the United States, which they had been compelled to subscribe to, or remain in territorial vassalage

under military governors, forbade strict action on this matter, and while legal submission was the only alternative, yet by means of throwing obstacles in the way of negro suffrage successful means to prevent it were brought about. Nor did the southern people hesitate to use violence in many cases to achieve the desired ends.

2. Quarrel in the Republican Party.—Louisiana was the first scene of these acts. To make the matter worse a quarrel in the Republican party here sprung up in the division, or rather the appropriation of the spoils. Two rival governors, with their legislatures, had been organized in this state, each claiming authority by virtue of popular elections. But the votes of these election had been counted by two sets of returning boards; one of these boards having been chosen in the interest of the White League and the other in the interest of the Republicans.

3. Illegal Acts on the Part of Both.—John McEnery was the governor-elect, in the estimation of the Democratic returning board, and Wm. Pitt Kellogg governor elect, in the estimation of the Republican returning board. The congressional debates on the respective merits of each brought to light very unsavory and illegal acts on the part of both.

4. The States Assume Control of Their Own Affairs.—The Democrats of the North were, as a party, adverse to the Kellogg government, while the Republicans were not a unit as to its legality. Previous to 1875 all the states lately in the rebellion, except Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina, had assumed control of their own affairs, without further congressional guidance, and had taken their old places in the Union as democratic states.

5. XLIVth Congress.—With their assistance, together with some substitution of Democratic or Republican congressmen from northern states, M. C. Kerr, of Indiana, Democrat, was elected speaker of the XLIVth Congress, which began its session in December, 1875.

6. Discrepancy Between the Value of Gold and Paper Money.—During the war, when the great discrepancy between the market value of gold and paper money was constantly changing a convention of farmers was held at Bloomington, Illinois, in order to adopt a labor and greenback theory uniting the economical interests of the country, and preventing speculation in the currency.

7. Labor and Greenback Party.—In 1868 a Labor and Greenback party was formed in New York to advocate the same cause, at which Peter Cooper stood at the head, which was the first political action taken to substitute paper for metallic currency.



PETER COOPER,
Candidate for President—Greenback Party.

8. Policy of Greenback Party.—It embraced the wage labor interest, anti-monopoly, opposition to the specie redemption currency system, claiming that Congress has the sole power to issue or coin money and regulate its value; that money is simply a government authenticated tool of trade—a tally to register and transmit from hand to hand the value amounts of the internal changes, and that only the state has the power to fix the value in the currency from whatever materials it may be made—the precious metals or paper; that at present money should be made of paper, to be issued solely by the government, in amounts sufficient to transact the business of the nation and no more.

9. Their Candidates.—Under this policy the Greenback party came before the country, and assembled in convention at Indianapolis May 17, 1876. It nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, as candidates for President and Vice-President for the next term.

10. Their Arguments.—One of the arguments used by this party, in the popular canvass, was the precedent which the government itself had established in the legal-tender act.

This was exclusively a Republican measure, and one to which the Democrats were opposed, on the ground of unconstitutionality, and at the December term of the supreme court in 1869 a decision was rendered to this effect. Subsequently, an increase of two Republican judges constituting this court, reversed this decision in March, 1870, and unredeemable greenbacks still furnished the country with money for an indefinite period.

11. The Prohibition Party.—The Prohibition party met in convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President for the next term, in Cleveland May 17. Their platform demanded the prohibition of the liquor traffic and manufacture in the District of Columbia and the territories, and amendments to the Constitution, by authority of which such restrictions might become universal.

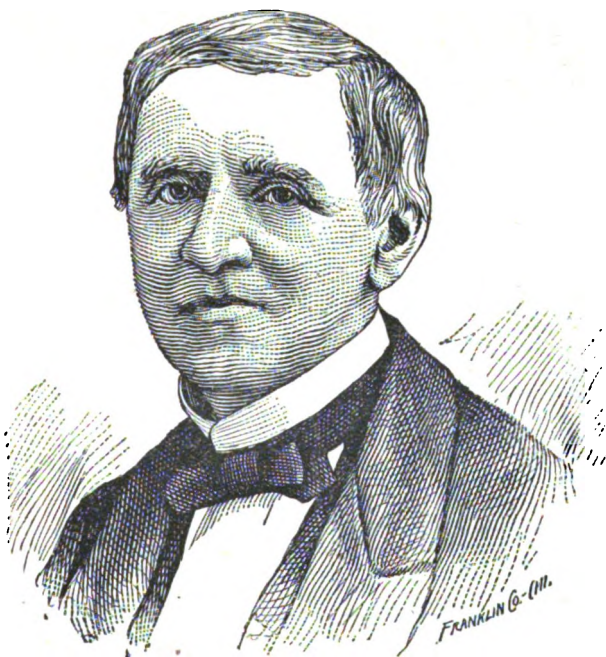
Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, and G. T. Stewart, of Ohio, were their nominees.

12. The National Christian Association.—The National Christian Association, whose platform went against all secret societies and in favor of prohibition, held their nominating convention at Pittsburg, Pa., June 9, 1875, and nominated as their candidates for President and Vice-President James B. Walker, of Illinois, and Donald Kirk Patrick, of New York.

13. The Republican Convention.—The Republican convention met at Cincinnati June 14. It confirmed its position as to the transcendent power of the Constitution over the states, and advocated a tariff sufficient to meet the entire expenses of the general government. It also claimed the right of Congress to suppress polygamy in the territories and advocated such action.

It nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and Wm. A. Wheeler, of New York, as their candidates.

14. The Democratic Convention.—The Democratic convention met at St. Louis June 27th. They demanded retrenchment and reform in the administration, a speedy return to specie payment, a reduction and modification of the tariff, and a discrimination against Chinese immigration.



SAMUEL J. TILDEN,
Democratic Candidate for President.

Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, were their nominees.

15. **Both Parties Claimed Three Southern States.**—The popular election of November 7, 1876, resulted in the states of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Indiana and all the southern states except Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida going for the Democrats. The Republicans carried the other states, but both parties claimed the three southern states just mentioned. The matter was settled by a special intervention of Congress in establishing an electoral commission to decide the case.

16. **Validity of the Louisiana and Florida Elections.**—It hinged on the validity of the Louisiana and Florida elec

tions; the Republicans claiming that fraud and violence had been used there to secure a Democratic majority, while the Democrats denied the charge, and claimed that in as much as said election returns had been legally made, Congress had not power to exclude them, even if the election had not been a fair one.

17. The Report of the Electoral Commission.—The report of the electoral commission, after spending considerable time in canvassing the subject, resulted in a resolution that the two houses of the XLIVth Congress, having counted the electoral votes have declared as final the election of the Republican nominees.

18. Decision in Favor of the Kellogg Government.—By the action of the commission the votes of Louisiana and Florida had been transferred from the Democratic to the Republican side, which gave Hayes and Wheeler 185 votes against 184 for Tilden and Hendricks. Here it ought not to be omitted to state that this discriminating decision hinged in a discrimination as to which of the two factions in Louisiana described in a foregoing page was legal, and that the decision in favor of the Kellogg government gave the election to Mr. Hayes. Up to this time, the legality of neither of the Lawrence factions had been acknowledged by the administration.

19. Number of Votes Cast.—The popular vote stood 4,033,950 Republican and 4,284,885 Democratic. The popular Greenback vote was 81,740. The popular Prohibition vote was 9,522.

Hayes and Wheeler were inaugurated March 5, 1877.

Twenty-Third Administration.

1. Reconstruction Reaches Its Limit.—Reconstruction had reached its limit in severity when Hayes assumed the executive responsibility of the nation, for the reason that a considerate public opinion in the Republican ranks demanded a more charitable, not to say more just course toward the statesmen subjected to the rule of military governors who had used their arbitray power more to enrich themselves than to bring wholesome laws to the states over which they ruled.

2. "The Bloody Shirt Republicans."—This wing of the Republican party were now substantially in alliance with the entire Democratic party on this issue, and Mr.

Hayes himself shared this sentiment and adopted a policy in accordance with it. This gave great offence to the extreme Republicans, who were now dubbed "The Bloody Shirt Republican" party.

3. A Critical Moment.—The moment was critical, the blood of stalwart Republicanism was up, notwithstanding



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES,

Born at Delaware, Delaware County, Ohio,

October 4, 1822.

President March 4, 1877-March 4, 1881.

• Died January 17, 1893.

which Mr. Hayes promptly withdrew the United States troops from Louisiana and South Carolina, and recommended the governors of those states to resign.

Senators Conklin, Logan and Cameron predicted that such a course would be detrimental to the interests of the party, but the Executive held the South as near as possible to a strict observance of the terms prescribed in the late constitutional amendment and no such result followed.

4. The Army Used to Influence Elections.—Owing to Democratic votes, the appropriation brought up to the XLVth Congress for the support of the army, was defeated. The grounds on which they opposed the bill were that the army was used as a means by which to influence elections. At a subsequent session, being an extra session, the Democrats softened and allowed the bill to pass.



HORACE GREELEY.

Founder of the New York Tribune and Candidate for President in 1872.

5. A Bill for the Unlimited Coinage of Silver.—At the same session a bill for the unlimited coinage of silver was passed, and on the 1st of January, 1879, the government resumed specie payments, the banks throughout the country doing the same.

6. A Democratic Measure.—Each subsequent appropriation bill, during Mr. Hayes' administration, was passed, but not without Democratic opposition for causes already told. But in the regular session of 1879 a bill was passed to prevent Congress from using the army to keep peace at the polls. This was a Democratic measure, and designed to relieve the southern election polls from military restraint, and the President approved it, thereby showing that he held to justice as he viewed above party ties.

7. An "Era of Good Feeling."—He was no partisan, and did little or nothing in his whole administration calculated to bring strength on his party except on the broad principle that true statesmanship does it; and it is not too

much to say, that an "era of good feeling," similar to that which Monroe brought about by non-partisanship action, was the result.

8. The Republican Nominating Convention.—The Republican nominating convention met at Chicago June 2, 1880. It charged upon the Democrats the sacrifice of patriotism to lust for office and patronage, after which it advocated public improvements, opposed polygamy and Chinese immigration, and approved the administration of Mr. Hayes, which was a decided vindication of his reconstruction policy.

James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, were nominated as their candidates for President and Vice-President.

9. The National Greenback Party.—The national Greenback party met in convention at Chicago June 9, 1880, to nominate Presidential candidates for the next term. It claimed that government, instead of banks, should have the power of making and putting in circulation money; that bonds should not be refunded, but paid according to contract, and to enable the government to do this, legal tender notes should take the place of bank currency.

James B. Weaver, for President, and B. J. Chambers, for Vice-President, were nominated as candidates.

10. The Prohibition Reform Party Convention.—The Prohibition reform party held their nominating convention for the next term at Cleveland, June 17, 1880. Its elaborate platform was an argument in favor of the principles announced by them at previous conventions.

Neal Dow, of Maine, was nominated as candidate for President, and H. A. Thompson, of Ohio, candidate for Vice-President.

11. National Christian Association.—The National Christian Association met in convention at Chicago June 17, 1880. Opposition to secret societies was their primary requisition, with other requirements of a Christian character to accompany it, also female suffrage.

Its nominations were J. W. Phelps, of Vermont, for President, and S. C. Pomeroy, of Washington, for Vice-President.

12. The Democratic Convention.—The Democratic convention met at Cleveland, Ohio, June 22, 1880. It charged the Republicans as conspirators in rewarding political crime, claimed that the election of Hayes was secured by fraud, and congratulated the country on the honesty of the late Congress, which was Democratic, and had saved \$10,000,000 per year in public expenditures. It advocated

a tariff for revenue only, which was then in accordance with Mr. Hayes' recommendation, and opposed Chinese immigration. W. S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and Wm. H. English, of Indiana, were their candidates for President and Vice-President.

13. The Elected Candidates.—The votes of the electoral college in February, 1881, subsequent to the popular election of November previous, stood as follows: For Garfield and Arthur, 214; for Hancock and English, 155.

The popular Republican vote was 4,454,416; Democratic vote, 4,444,952; Greenback vote, 308,578; Prohibition, 10,305. Garfield and Arthur were inaugurated March 4, 1881.

Twenty-fourth Administration.

1. President Garfield's Policy.—President Garfield, in his inaugural address, promised full and equal protection of the Constitution and laws for every citizen, irrespective of race or color; advocated universal education as a safeguard or suffrage; recommended such an adjustment of our monetary system "that the purchasing power of every coined dollar will be exactly equal to its debt-paying power in all the markets of the world, and that the national debt should be refunded at a lower rate of interest, without compelling the withdrawal of national bank notes; the prohibition of polygamy within the borders of our republic, and the regulation of the civil service by laws." These were the principle points discussed in the inaugural address.

2. A Struggle in the Senate.—At the very beginning of the new administration there was a struggle in the Senate of the United States between the two great parties (Republican and Democratic), for power in that body, each refusing to yield on the question of completing the organization, one wishing to elect new officers of that body, the other insisting upon keeping the old ones. There was a deadlock for several weeks.

3. A Strife Concerning the Confirmation of Nominations Made by the President.—There was also a strife concerning the confirmation of nominations made by the President of the United States of incumbents for office in the state of New York, particularly that of the collector of the port of New York. The nominee for that office, it was concluded, was thoroughly qualified to fill it; but



JAMES A. GARFIELD,

Born at Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio,

November 19, 1831.

President March 4, 1881-September 19, 1881.

Died at Elberon, New Jersey, September 19, 1881.

was personally distasteful to the senior United States senator (Roscoe Conkling) from New York, and he vehemently urged his rejection by the Senate.

4. New York Unrepresented in the Senate.—Because the Senate could not agree with him, the senator resigned his seat, deserted his post and returned home taking with him his senatorial colleague, so leaving the great state of New York unrepresented in the senate of the United States.

The President withdrew all of the nominations of New York, excepting that for the collectorship which was immediately confirmed, and the Senate adjourned May 20, *sine die*. The New York Legislature was in session at that time, and was compelled to take immediate steps to fill the seats deserted by the two New York senators.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR,

Born in Franklin County, Vermont, October 5, 1830.

President September 20, 1881-March 4, 1885.

Died at New York City, November 18, 1886.

5. **The Vacancy Filled.**—Mr. Conkling had no doubt that he and his colleague would be immediately rechosen to fill their vacated seats. He was mistaken. Instead of meeting general support and sympathy, he encountered general opposition and indignation among his political friends and others for his unwarranted course. Perceiving this, he repaired to the state capitol, and there conducted, for several weeks, a most unseemly personal struggle for a re-election, but was defeated. His seat and that of his colleague were filled by the choice of two other men. This strife at Albany had agitated the whole nation, and in the final result the people felt great relief.

6. **Various Treaties Confirmed.**—While these personal struggles were going on at Washington and Albany, the government, which was moving on in successful progress, had confirmed important treaties; one with China concerning immigration and commerce; an extradition treaty with the United States of Columbia; a consular convention with Italy, modifying and defining the judicial powers of certain

consulates; a convention with Morocco respecting the taxation prerogatives of the Moorish government, and a treaty with Japan prescribing reciprocal duties for the Japanese and United States governments in case of shipwrecks upon their respective coasts.

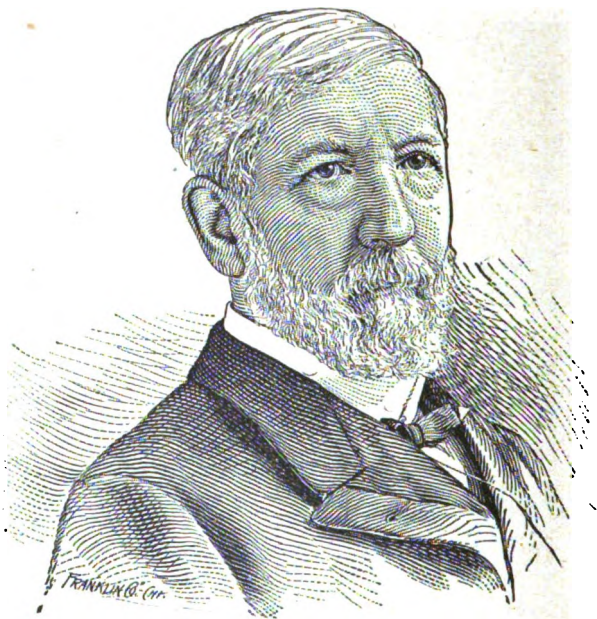


Young Garfield driving team on the canal.

7. Ill Feeling of Disappointed Office Seekers.—On May 18 the Senate postponed the resolution asserting the Monroe Doctrine in the case of the Isthmus Ship Canal, The fearful agitation of the people by the humiliating strife for office at Albany intensified the ill feeling of disappointed office seekers everywhere, and produced its logical results

8. President Garfield Shot by Charles Guiteau.—While that struggle was at its height the nation was appalled by the fact that one of this dangerous class—dangerous alike to public order and public virtue—had shot the

President of the United States as he was about to leave the capital on a trip to New York and New England. The terrible deed was done at the station of the Baltimore & Potomac railway, in Washington at about 9 o'clock on Saturday, July 2, 1881, where he was to be joined by members of his cabinet. As he was walking through the passenger room,



JAMES G. BLAINE,
Secretary of State under President Garfield.

arm in arm with Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, two pistol shots were fired in succession from behind them and the President sank to the floor bleeding profusely. Only one shot touched his body; that entered it through the eleventh rib, about four inches to the right of the spine, and taking a

tortuous course lodged some distance to the left of the lumbar vertebrae at the lower margin of the pancreas. It was externally a jagged wound, caused by a ball known as calibre 44. The wounded President was at first carried to a room in the second story of the building where he was shot, and later was carried to the executive mansion.

9. Arrest of the Assassin.—The assassin was instantly arrested by a police officer (Kearney) to whom he said: "I did it, and will go to jail for it; I am a Stalwart (the political name given to the friends of Senator Conkling in the strife then going on), and Arthur will be President."

10. Guiteau's Letter.—In his pocket was found the following letter directed to the White House: "The President's tragic death was a sad necessity; but it will unite the Republican party and save the republic. Life is a flimsy dream, and it matters little when one goes. A human life is of small value. During the war thousands of brave boys went down without a tear. I presume the President was a Christian, and that he will be happier in paradise than here—in Paradise. It will be no worse for Mrs. Garfield, dear soul, to part with her husband this way than by natural death. He is liable to go at any time, any way. I had no ill will toward the President. His death was a political necessity."

"I am a lawyer, a theologian, and a politician. I am a Stalwart of the Stalwarts. I was with Gen. Grant and the rest of our men in New York during the canvass. I have some papers for the press, which I shall leave with Byron Andrews and his co-journalists at 1240 New York avenue, where all the reporters can see them. I am going to the jail."

CHARLES GUITEAU."

11. Garfield's Death.—Mr. Garfield died of his wounds on the 19th of the following September, a shining mark of sympathy and affection of his country. Chester A. Arthur, the Vice-President, was inaugurated President the next day after his death.

12. The Civil Service Bill Passed.—The Civil Service bill was passed during this administration, the features of which was to retain persons in the public service through any political change in the administration, but there being no positive lines of demarkation in the bill it is still optional with the administration to discharge any one from his position, it being a matter of opinion as to the merit of the incumbent.

13. Various Bills Passed.—The tariff question occupied the attention of Congress to a large extent, but without definite results. May 3, 1884, a bill was passed to prevent the immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States for ten years. June 12 following a bill appropriating \$8,079,000 for improving rivers and harbors was passed. On the 29th of February following, \$2,500,000 was appropriated for building cruisers and gunboats.



THE HON. JOHN A. LOGAN, OF ILLINOIS,
U. S. Senator from Illinois—Candidate for Vice-President.

14. The Republican Convention.—The Republican convention to nominate candidates for the next presidential term, met at Chicago June 3, 1884. In its platform it recommended duties on foreign imports, both for revenue and protection, James G. Blaine was nominated as candidate for President, and John A. Logan for Vice-President.

**BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,****Candidate for President—Greenback Party.**

15. The Democratic Convention.—The Democratic convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President met at Chicago July 7, 1884. In its platform it accused the Republican party of misdirections of the public money, particularly as to improvements and in the increase of the naval service. It promised tariff reform by reduction of what it termed excessive rates. Grover Cleveland was nominated as candidate for President and Thomas A. Hendricks for Vice-President.

16. Convention of the Greenback Party.—The convention of the Greenback party met at Indianapolis May 28, 1884, to nominate their candidates. It reiterated its claim that Congress had the right to control the issue of legal tender notes, and demanded the substitution of greenbacks for national bank notes. Benjamin F. Butler was the nominee for President and A. M. West for Vice-President.

17. The Prohibition Convention.—The Prohibition convention met at Pittsburg July 23, 1884. In its platform it set forth the evils of intemperance and demanded national measures to suppress the manufacture and sale of intoxicants. John P. St. John was nominated as candidate for President and William Daniels for Vice-President.



THE HON. JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

18. Cleveland and Hendricks Elected.—The votes of the electoral college in February, 1885, subsequent to the popular election of November, 1884, stood as follows: For Cleveland and Hendricks, 219; for Blaine and Logan, 182. The popular Democratic vote was 4,874,986; Republican, 4,851,981; Greenback, 175,370; Prohibition, 150,369.

Cleveland and Hendricks were inaugurated March 4, 1885.



GROVER CLEVELAND,

**Born at Caldwell, Essex County, New Jersey,
March 18, 1837.**

President, first term, March 4, 1885—March 4, 1889.

President, second term, March 4, 1893—March 4, 1897.

Twenty-fifth Administration.

1. Clean Cut Lines Between the Two Great Political Parties on the Tariff.—During the political canvass that had resulted in the election of Mr. Cleveland, the want of policy was manifest in each party, inasmuch as the tariff question had not been formulated into a defined policy, as it was destined to be at a later date. But not long after his inauguration this issue began to take shape and form sufficient to give clean cut lines of representation between the two great political parties that divided the country on distinct issues and these were on the tariff.

2. **The Treaty With England.**—Aside from this issue the most important question which has become before Mr. Cleveland's administration is the treaty with England to adjust complaints growing out of the fishery question. A treaty had been negotiated by commissioners, but it was not ratified by the President and Congress, on the ground that it did not secure the just rights of America, and this prolific source of petty annoyance is still unsettled.

3. **The Inter-state Commerce Law.**—The Inter-state Commerce Law, regulating and equalizing railroads on freights and passengers throughout the United States, and preventing pooling the income of parallel lines, passed both Houses of Congress in January, 1887, and was approved by the President on the 4th of the following February. A treaty of reciprocity was also passed with the Hawaiian government bearing date of February 28, 1891.

4. **Advised a Revision of the Tariff.**—In Mr. Cleveland's annual message before the Congress of 1888 he advised a revision of the tariff and a reduction of its rates as a pressing necessity to prevent too great an accumulation of gold in the treasury, as he claimed inconsistent with the interests of the country.*

5. **The Democratic Convention.**—Mr. Blaine, the acknowledged representative of the Republican party, promptly took issue with him on this policy. The Democratic convention to nominate candidates for the next presidential term, met at St. Louis June 6, 1888. It endorsed the administration of Mr. Cleveland, including his tariff message, and without a dissenting voice nominated him as their choice of candidates for the next term, and Allen G. Thurman for Vice-President.

6. **The Republican Convention.**—The Republican convention to nominate candidates met at Chicago, June 19, 1888. In its platform it recommended a reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce, but its most important demand was protection for manufacturers by high tariff, although on some articles of popular consumption a reduction of rates was proposed. Benjamin Harrison was nominated as candidate for President, and Levi P. Morton for Vice-President.

7. **The Prohibition Convention.**—The Prohibition convention met at Indianapolis, May 30, 1888. Besides the main purpose of this party to suppress the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors for beverages, it advocated female suffrage as a state policy. Bowen Fisk was nominated for President and John A. Brooks for Vice-President.

8. **Harrison and Morton Inaugurated.**—The vote of the

* One of the last official acts of President Cleveland in this administration was the signing of the bill admitting North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington as states, by which act they became states in November, 1889.

electoral college which met in February, 1889, was for Harrison and Morton, 233; for Cleveland and Thurman, 168. The Republican popular vote was 5,440,748, the Democratic popular vote was 5,536,242.

Harrison and Morton were inaugurated March 4, 1889.



BENJAMIN HARRISON,

Born at North Bend, Hamilton County, Ohio,

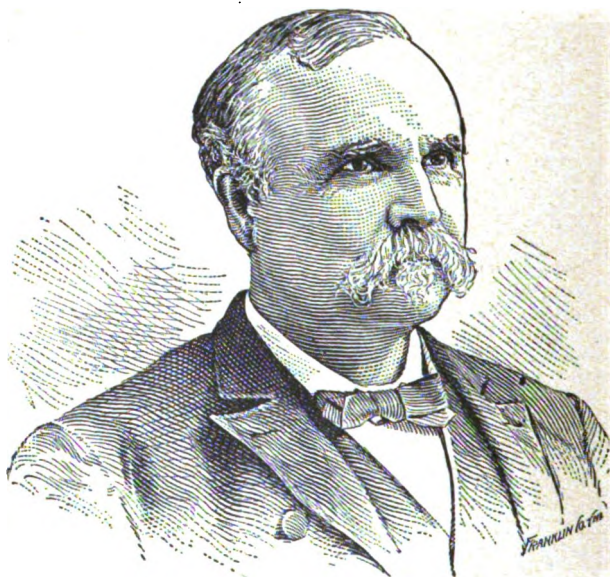
August 20, 1833.

President March 4, 1889-March 4, 1893.

Twenty-sixth Administration.

¹ **Advantage of the Republicans in the Election of Mr. Harrison.**—It can hardly be denied that the promptitude with which Mr. Blaine took issue with Mr. Cleveland on the tariff question was used greatly to the advantage of

the Republicans in the election of Mr. Harrison. The tariff policy had not been fully defined by the Republicans, nor had any representative views of either party defined such a policy till Mr. Cleveland did so in his message of 1888, and Mr. Blaine was the first demonstrative man in the Republican party to accept the issue that Mr. Cleveland's message had irrevocably canonized as a test of Democratic faith, to overthrow which the sequel proved to be an easy task by appealing to the interests of the labor element

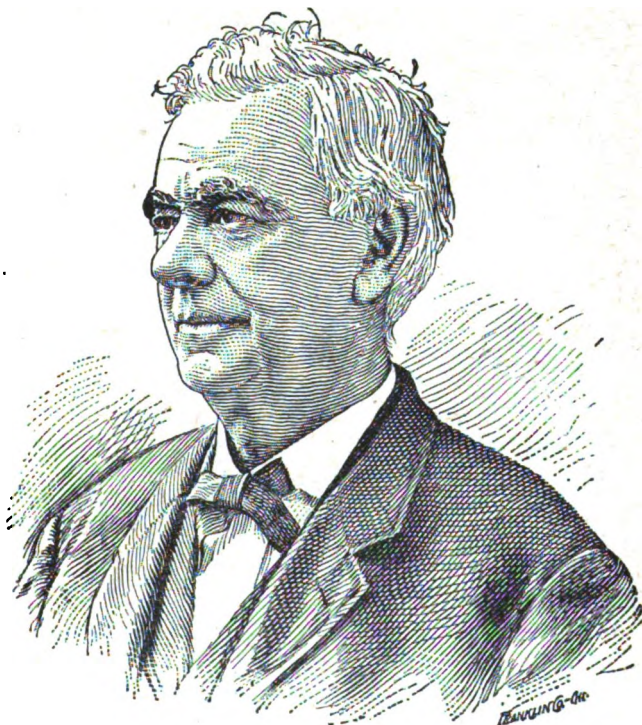


THE HON. ROGER Q. MILLS, of Texas,
Chosen U. S. Senator in 1892.

throughout the country, and asking it to vote for the advocate of a tariff on the ground that it would secure high wages for furnishing a home market for articles of American manufacture.

2. **The McKinley Tariff.**—Consistent with this, plans were laid to frame a new tariff bill raising the duties on nearly every article of American manufacture, which bill

was popularly known as the McKinley Tariff. After much canvassing on the part of the Republicans among the various manufacturing interests of the country to bring to light such facts and statistics as in the opinion of friends of the bill the best good of the employer and the employee required, rates were established on almost every article of



EX-GOV. OGLESBY, OF ILLINOIS.

manufacture. The bill became a law after passing both Houses, and being duly signed by the President, taking effect October 6, 1890. It was a partisan measure to the exclusion of any of the versatile methods known to local or

clannish interests sometimes thrust into the area of partisanship, though Mr. Randall, a Democrat, but not of the stalwart brand, lent his influence in favor of the bill.

3. The Contesting Cities for the Location of the World's Fair.—The fourth century was now near at hand, whose close marked the eventful date of the discovery of the New World by Columbus. Plans had been laid for a fitting cele-



HENRY WATTERSON.

bration of this wondrous episode, and where should this take place? The contesting cities for the location of the World's Fair were Chicago, New York, Washington and St. Louis. Each of the cities were represented by committees and all made a strong and determined effort to win the prize. The matter was decided when the vote was taken

on the insertion of the name of the city in the bill authorizing the Fair. The contest was confined to the House of Representatives, the Senate being willing to accept any location chosen by the House.

4. **The Vote for the Various Cities.**—Upon location the vote stood for the various cities as follows:

Ballots.	Chicago.	New York.	Washington.	St. Louis.
First vote.....	115	72	56	61
Second vote.....	121	83	46	59
Third vote.....	127	92	34	53
Fourth vote.....	134	95	29	48
Fifth vote.....	140	110	24	38
Sixth vote.....	149	116	19	28
Seventh vote.....	155	112	17	27
Eighth vote.....	157	107	18	25

Total vote, 307; necessary for choice, 154 on the last ballots.

5. **Idaho and Wyoming were Admitted as States.**—Idaho and Wyoming were admitted as states and the new territory of Oklahoma created. During the administration an appropriation of \$500,000 was made wherewith to begin the construction of the Hennepin canal, to connect the waters of the Mississippi river at the mouth of Rock river to those of the Illinois river near Hennepin.

6. **The Pan American Confederation.**—The Pan American Confederation convened at Washington, of which James G. Blaine was president, and a cordial feeling of national comity of interests was a general result, but many of the special things aimed at were not secured because none of them seemed to favor the interests of each and every nation represented. Nothing short of separate treaty with each could do this.

7. **The Exciting Question.**—The exciting questions before this administration created unusual interest, not only as to party, but what men in that party should fulfil its requirements.

8. **The Republican Convention.**—The Republican convention to nominate their candidate met at Minneapolis June 7, 1892. There were three candidates in the field—Harrison, Blaine and McKinley—but the real contest was between the first two. Harrison was chosen candidate for President, and Whitelaw Reid candidate for Vice-President, by a decisive majority, after a great display of prestige to create favorable impressions toward each respective candidate.

9. **A Platform Friendly to the Protection Policy.**—A platform was adopted friendly to the protection policy, which the party had advocated with success in the previous canvass.



WHITELAW REID, Candidate for Vice-President, 1892.

10. The Democratic Convention.—The Democratic convention met at Chicago June 21, 1892. The contestants for nomination were Cleveland, Hill, and Governor Bois, of Iowa. Mr. Cleveland received the nomination for President by a large majority, and Adlai E. Stephenson for Vice-President.

11. The Platform Adopted.—In the platform adopted there was no letting down as to the policy reducing the tariff, and the policy of civil service reform was advocated.

12. The Peoples Party Convention.—The Peoples party held their convention at Omaha. James B. Weaver was nominated as candidate for President and James G. Field for Vice-President.

Its platform demanded a national currency to be issued by the government.

13. The Prohibition Convention.—The Prohibition convention met at Cincinnati June 29, John Bidwell, of California, was nominated as candidate for President and Gideon L. Stewart for Vice-President.



J. B. WEAVER,
Candidate for President—Peoples Party.



THE HON. ROBERT LINCOLN, of Illinois.

14. Votes of the Electoral College February 8, 1893.—Grover Cleveland, 277, President; Adlai E. Stephenson, 277, Vice-President; Benjamin Harrison, 145, President; White-law Reid, 145, Vice-President; James B. Weaver, 22, President; James G. Field, 22, Vice-President. Cleveland and Stevenson were inaugurated March 4, 1893.

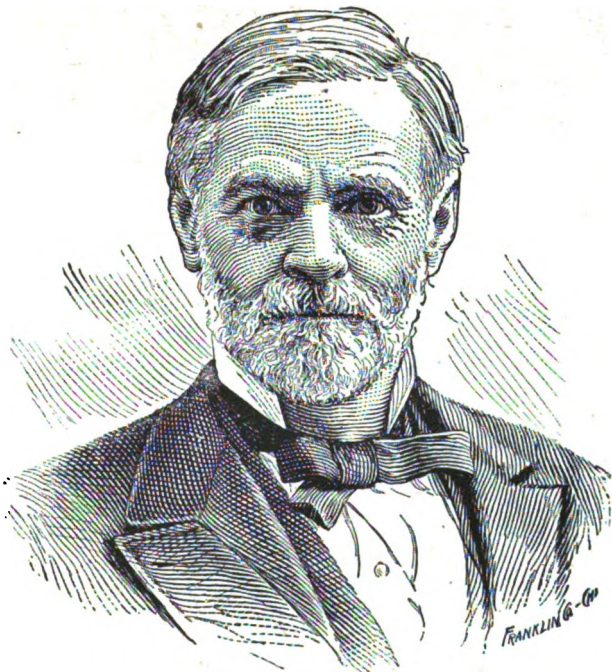


RICHARD OLNEY,
Attorney General under Cleveland.

The Political Events and Issues of the Twenty-Seventh Administration.

1. The Election of Mr. Cleveland an Unexpected Surprise.—The election of Mr. Cleveland was an unexpected surprise to the Republicans and his first acts soon gave them an opportunity to criticise his policy.

2. The Hawaiian Issue.—Among the last official acts of President Harrison was his friendly recognition of the revolutionary government of Hawaii. This was overruled by Mr. Cleveland, he not receiving its accredited minister. For this he was severely censured by the entire Republican party, nor did he escape condemnation from some Democratic sources. But the great question of the tariff reduction and the currency was destined soon to subordinate all other issues to its earnest attention.



THE HON. JOHN SHERMAN, of Ohio.

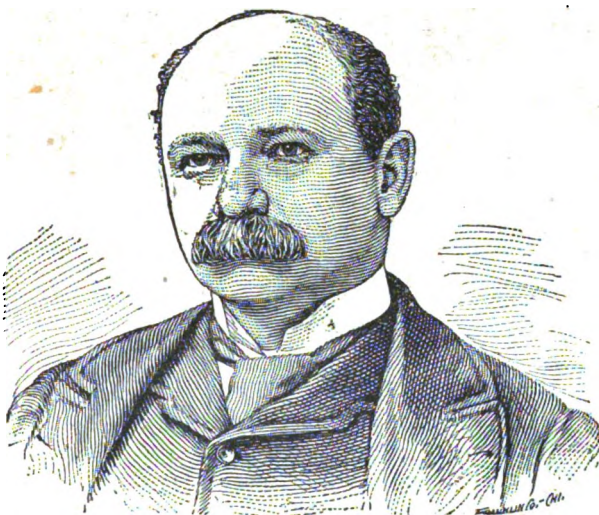
3. The Monetary Question.—Foremost among the topics attracting the world's attention during the early days of this administration is that of finance. The lack of confidence and the general depression in the business world, the depletion in the stock of gold in reserve, financial failures, and the stringency of the money market, caused President Cleveland to assemble Congress in extra session Aug. 7, "to the end that the people may be relieved through legislation from present and impending danger and distress."

4. The Sherman Act.—Among the laws considered unwise by the President was the Sherman silver purchase act of 1890. This act, after a stubborn fight in the Senate, was repealed October 30, 1893, and was at once signed by the President.



THE HON. CHAS. F. CRISP, of Georgia,
Speaker of House, 52d and 53d Congress.

5. The Most Stubbornly Fought Battle. — Probably the most stubbornly fought battle ever carried on by our lawmakers in Congress preceded the passage of the new tariff law, which went into effect on the 26th of August, 1894. For the first time in a generation the Democratic party found itself practically in control of every branch of the government on the 4th of March, 1893. The political campaign of the preceding year had been contested on the tariff issue. The Democratic platform of 1892 was pronounced in its opposition to the high protective system then in operation, while the Republican platform was as positive in its declarations favoring the protective policy of the administration of Mr. Harrison. Both the popular and electoral vote of the country was largely on the side of a change in the tariff policy of the country.

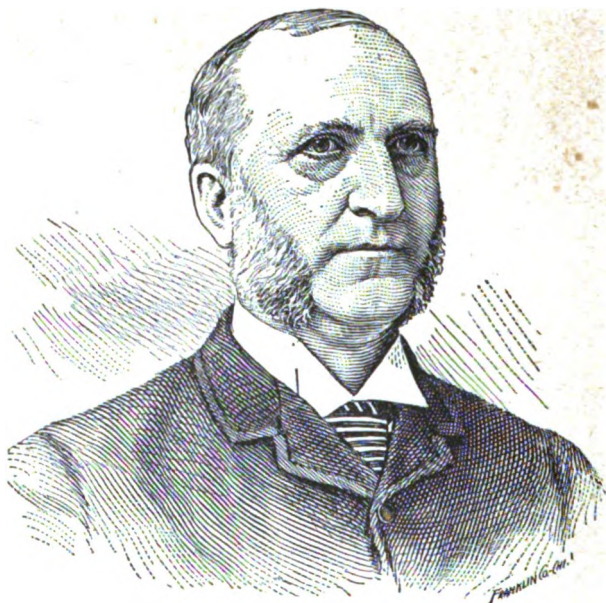


THE HON. DANIEL LAMONT,

Secretary of War, 1893-1897.

6. **The Regular Session of Congress.**—The regular session of Congress opened on the first Monday in December, 1893, but it was not until January 8 that the bill was introduced into the House. The introduction of the bill raised a storm of disapproval against it, a large proportion of which came from the Republicans, but its provisions for free wool, coal, lumber, sugar and iron ore caused violent opposition from Democrats representing states where those interests were likely to be seriously affected. In the whole history of the government it may be doubted whether any previous attempt at tariff reform had been so radical as was to be accomplished by the Wilson bill, for it proposed, within the space of one year, to abolish about 38 per cent. of the duties then being paid upon imports, besides carrying to the free list manufactures and farm products which paid from 50 to 60 per cent. duties.

The bill, however, passed the House by a vote of 204 to

**CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW,**

The silver tongued orator.

140, and went to the Senate February 2, 1894, where it was confronted by a condition of things wholly unlike that which existed in the house. The Democratic strength in the Senate was exactly 44, one more than a majority, there being three vacancies. The Republicans numbered 37, and the Populists 4, whose sympathies were equally divided between the Democrats and Republicans. Under these circumstances it became absolutely essential for the Democrats to command every vote in their own party to carry any measure they might present, while it was apparent that the Democrats in the Senate were more strongly inclined than those in the House to a moderate degree of protection.

7. **The General Debate in the Senate.**—The general debate began in the Senate on the 2d of April and closed

on the 24th, after which the bill was considered by paragraph, until the 3d of July, when the final vote was taken. Thus, after five months of consideration and debate the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 39 to 34. The affirmative vote was cast by 37 Democrats and 2 Populists (Kyle, of South Dakota, and Allen, of Nebraska), while the negative vote was made up of 31 Republicans, 2 Populists, Peffer, of Kansas, and Stewart, of Nevada), and one Democrat (Mr. Hill, of New York), who opposed the measure on account of its income tax feature.

The bill then went to the conference committee of the two Houses, and the result was as was generally expected.

8. **The Deadlock.**—The deadlock continued, but party harmony had given way to pride of opinion and personal feeling. Proposals of compromise were made and rejected and bitterness of feeling grew more intense each day. A caucus was held in the House at the suggestion of some who were willing to yield to the Senate, but nothing was accomplished. Another caucus of the House was held on August 13, the House ending the struggle by accepting the Senate bill in its entirety in place of the Wilson bill. The bill passed the House and was sent to the President on August 15 and became a law without his approval.

9. **Why the President Did Not Sign the Bill.**—The reason why the President did not sign the bill was because he did not wish to go on record as approving it with the amendments that had divested it of its most radical reduction in tariff rates.

10. **Utah Admitted.**—Utah was admitted as a state by the LIII. Congress, and became a state in 1896.

11. **Last Session.**—The last session of the LIII. Congress was fruitless of import, owing to the want of harmony on financial questions. Several important measures were proposed, but were defeated by the majority.

12. **LIV. Congress.**—The first session of the LIV. Congress was very brief and uneventful. It did very little of importance, chiefly because it was working too much at cross-purposes with itself and with the President to do much of anything. Out of 9,500 bills in the lower House, and 3,250 in the upper House (an average of 27 bills to each member in the lower and 36 in the upper), but 250 were passed and signed by the President. Of these, the most important were the appropriation bills, the appointment of the Venezuelan boundary commission, the suppression of prize fighting in the territories, removal of the disability of Confederate officers for the holding of appointments in the

army and navy, and the requirement of one year's residence in a territory before securing a divorce. The House passed a bill revising the tariff and the Senate put a free-silver clause to it, and said "Give us this or give us nothing." Both Houses rolled up a big river and harbor bill, appropriating \$80,000,000 in the next six years, and when the President vetoed it, both Houses united to override the veto. No relief, therefore, has come to the Treasury. The Senate tried to put a stop to the issue of bonds to keep up the gold reserve, and the House blocked that game. Though the Republicans had a big majority in the House, and a nominal one in the Senate, the two houses were about as much at outs with each other as both were with the President.

13. Foreign Affairs.—Mr. Cleveland began his second term as President by preventing the consummation of a treaty making the United States the protector of the new "republic" Hawaii either as a territory or state, or as a county, of California. The treaty was an official response to Minister Steven's land-grabbing dispatch that "the Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it." Mr. Cleveland did not believe either in the establishment of a protectorate or in annexation, and therefore he withdrew the treaty. He believed that the revolutionists had been aided by the American minister and American marines, and that the United States ought to undo its wrong and make reparation. His solution of the Hawaiian problem saved this country from deep disgrace, and from the commission of a crime, to the like of which, according to our jingo friends, England, is so prone that a general arbitration treaty with her would be of doubtful morality.

The President's message on the Venezuela boundary dispute, and his subsequent action in the matter, have been elsewhere explained. Also, elsewhere in this work may be found the resulting arbitration treaty, which Mr. Olney, by the exercise of his diplomatic ability, succeeded in persuading Lord Salisbury to sign in a broader form than the British premier at first approved.

There is a certain quality or tone in Mr. Cleveland's administration of foreign relations that has been gratifying to Americans. It has been thoroughly American and dignified. And even those who have disagreed with him in regard to some of his conservative policies must realize that the United States stands better before the world by reason of what he has done in respect to foreign affairs in regard to Hawaii and Venezuela. Even the most enthusiastic and hot-headed friends of Cuba may, in time, be convinced that conservatism has better accomplished their hopes than precipitate action would have done.

14. Civil Service Reform.—It was essentially in Mr. Cleveland's nature that he should advance the cause of civil service reform. To him a public servant has but one allegiance and but one duty. His master is the public, and all his service is due to that master. Public place is for public service. That is his own ideal, and that, to him, is the standard for all in the public employment. When he first went to Washington he knew very little of the methods for reform which had been agreed upon, but it was only necessary to show him clearly the fundamental evil of the spoils system to make him its bitter and determined enemy. When he first became President there were about 15,000 classified places in the civil service. At the end of his second term there are 87,107 classified places, Mr. Harrison having added 8000. The merit system is in its present excellent condition mainly by reason of Mr. Cleveland's efforts, and if Mr. McKinley will sustain the system for appointments and promotions in the consular service established since Mr. Olney became Secretary of State, and will include the fourth-class post offices in the classified services, civil service reform will be accomplished so far as the extent of its jurisdiction is concerned.

This is not a complete record of President Cleveland's services to the country; it is merely a statement of the larger benefits that have been gained through his official acts.

In the larger questions that have come to him, he has comprehended the right way, and has had the courage to walk in it despite the opposition and criticism of the politicians of his own party. Whatever one may think of his personality or of his party leadership, his stern fidelity and unselfish and intelligent devotion as a public servant make his two administrations illustrious.

Rhymed History of the Administrations.

The following rhymed history is noted for the valuable information it gives in compact form. The author is unknown. Every young American ought to commit it to memory.

First Washington we proudly name,
The founder of his country's fame;
Then Adams, ere his rule was done,
The government graced Washington
And Jefferson, in whom we see
Republican simplicity.

Next Madison, disturbed by jars
 With Indian tribes and British Wars;
 And Monroe, handed down to fame
 By doctrine coupled with his name;
 And Adams, second of his line,
 Who held aloft Protection's sign.

Then Andrew Jackson, world renowned,
 Deliverer of New Orleans crowned,
 Van Buren next, whose wise regime,
 Saw carriages first drawn by steam.
 And Harrison, or "Tippecanoe,"
 And one month later, Tyler, too.

Next Polk presides o'er our domains,
 Vastly increased by Western gains;
 Then Taylor, with whose sad demise
 Came the "Missouri compromise."
 And Fillmore following in his train,
 Who well nigh came to blows with Spain.

Here Pierce made treaty with Japan,
 From those fair isles removed the ban;
 Buchanan witnessed "John Brown's raid,"
 And North and South in arms arrayed;
 The martyr, Lincoln, lived to see
 The Union saved, the slaves set free.

Next Johnson, reconciling hates,
 Restored the reconstructed states;
 And Grant, the hero of the hour,
 Was twice returned to highest power,
 And Hayes beheld increase of trade,
 Silver a legal tender made.

Then Garfield, who like Lincoln slain,
 Left on the land a double stain;
 And Arthur, with a "standard time,"
 And Hooper's feats in Arctic clime,
 And Cleveland, who with turn of tide
 Gave to the White House a fair young bride.

Next Harrison's McKinley Bill,
 Which served his term to kill;
 And Cleveland's battle royal with Hill,
 And broken lance for poor Queen Lil,
 And just before his term was done
 His party split "*sixteen to one*."

CHAPTER VIII.

Current Problems and Topics.

EDUCATION AND CRIME.

1. **Percentage of Illiterate Persons and Prisoners in the Different States.**—In 1890, 6,324,702, or 13.3 per cent. of the 47,418,559 persons in the United States, 10 years of age or over, were illiterate, and .17 per cent., or 82,829, were prisoners in penitentiaries, jails, etc. In the north Atlantic states only 6.2 per cent., or 859,989 persons out of the population of 13,888,377, 10 years of age or over, were illiterate, while 28,258, or .2 per cent. were prisoners. The population of the south Atlantic states, 10 years of age or over, was 6,415,921, of whom 30.9 per cent., or 1,961,888, were illiterate, and only .17 per cent., or 11,409, prisoners. The north central states had a population of 16,909,613, 10 years of age or over, of whom 5.7 per cent., or 964,268 were illiterate, and .12 per cent., or 19,954, prisoners. The south central states, with a population of 7,799,487, 10 years of age or over, of whom 29.7 per cent., or 2,318,871, were illiterate, had .2 per cent., or 16,084 in prison; and the western states, with 8.3 per cent., or 199,686, illiterate in a population of 2,400,161 persons, 10 years of age or over, had .28 per cent., or 6,724, prisoners.

2. **Prisoners.**—Of the 82,829 prisoners in 1890, 34.3 per cent. were confined in the north Atlantic states, 13.9 per cent. in the south Atlantic, 24.1 per cent. in the north central, 19.5 in the south central, and 8.2 in the western states.

Louisiana shows the highest percentage of illiteracy, 45.8 and 1,608 prisoners, or .2 per cent. of her population. South Carolina follows closely in percentage of illiteracy with 45 per cent., and has 1,184, or .14 per cent. of her population prisoners. New Mexico comes next, with 44.5 per cent. of illiterates and 205 of population, or .18 per cent. prisoners; then Alabama, 41 per cent. illiterate and 2,518, or .23 per cent. prisoners; Mississippi, 40 per cent. illiterate and 1,777, or .13 per cent. prisoners; Georgia, 39.8 per cent. illiterate and 2,988, or .22 per cent. prisoners; North Carolina, 35.7 per cent. illiterate and 2,033, or .18 per cent. prisoners, and Virginia, 30.2 per cent. illiterate and 2,000, or .17 per cent. prisoners.

3. **Read and Write.**—Of the 82,329 prisoners in the United States June 1, 1890, 7,386, or 8.97 per cent. were charged with homicide, of whom 61.73 per cent. could both read and write, 4.84 per cent. could only read, and 33.43 per cent. could do neither. Of the negroes charged with homicide, more than one-half could neither read nor write; of the Indians, nearly two-thirds.

4. **Foreign Born.**—The percentage of the illiteracy among the foreign born was nearly three times as great as among the native whites. Of the 47,413,559 persons in the United States in 1890, 10 years of age and over, 6,324,702 were illiterates. Of this number 3,212,574 were white and 3,112,128 colored, 2,065,003 native white and 1,147,571 foreign white. Of the prisoners confined on a charge of homicide, 253, or 3.44 per cent., had received higher education.

5. **The Occupation.**—The occupation of 6,546 prisoners prior to incarceration was ascertained, of whom 102 were classified as professional, 38 official, 1,893 agricultural, 29 lumber, 212 mining, 19 fisheries, 173 trade and commerce, 380 transportation, 1,086 manufactures and mechanical industries, 690 personal service, 2,253 unskilled labor and 21 miscellaneous. The number employed at the time of their arrest was 5,659, unemployed 1,225, unknown 467.

6. **Intoxicating Liquors.**—The habits of the prisoners in respect of use of intoxicating liquors at time of arrest, as far as ascertained were: Total abstainers, 1,282; occasional or moderate drinkers, 3,829, and drunkards 1,267. Nearly one-half of the homicide prisoners were unmarried. The number of married was 2,715; unmarried, 3,615; widowed 703 and divorced, 144.

7. **Ignorance.**—Ignorance is a cause of crime, nevertheless 66.57 per cent. of all prisoners charged with homicide received the rudiments of an education in English of their own tongue, and 3.44 per cent. received a higher education. Ignorance of trade is a cause of crime, but 11.35 per cent. of the prisoners were mechanics or apprentices and a much larger number had the necessary skill to follow mechanical pursuits.

8. **Intemperance.**—Intemperance and idleness are no doubt the cause of more crime than all the other agencies combined. Very few criminals there are who cannot trace their first crime to an idle hour or to some sparkling glass. The hot beds of crime are found in the cities in those low dives where morality and temperance are never thought of. Intemperance is the curse of mankind and if the saloon and intemperance could be eradicated nine-tenths of our jails and penitentiaries would be without inmates.

Prison Labor and Prison Reforms.

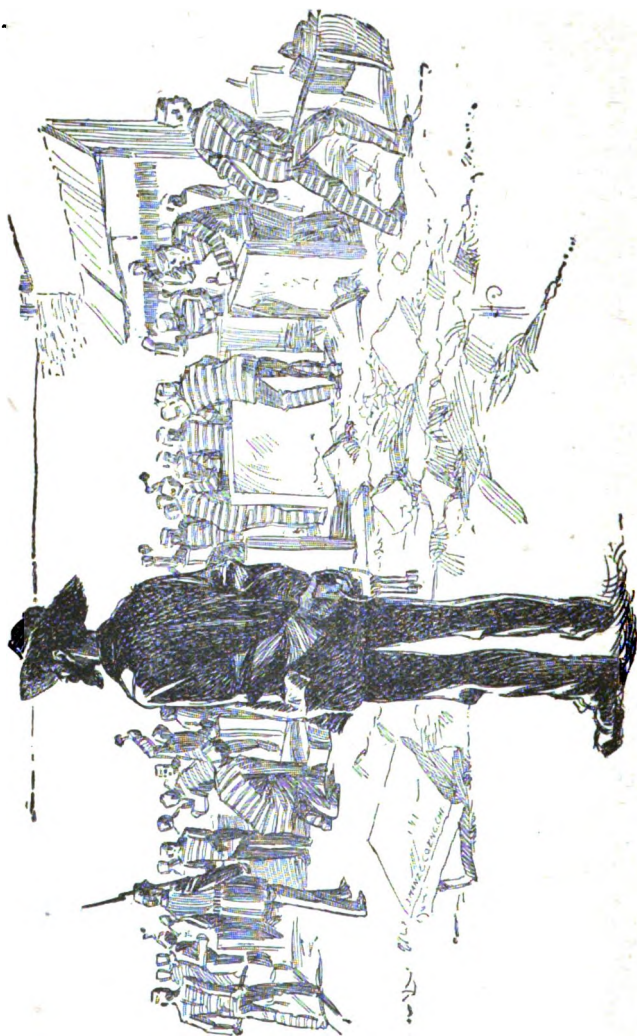
1. **Convict Labor.**—As in this country, prison labor has been the subject of much discussion abroad. The labor system is the weak side of the otherwise strong system in England. This is seen in the use of the fly wheel. Prisoners sentenced to hard labor may fulfill the sentence by turning the crank of a fly wheel so many thousand revolutions registered on an indicator. No prison official of the present day favors this plan. It cannot be called thrifty for the prisoner or for the prison. Nearly every application of labor for productive purposes in England is in making articles for the government. Everything used in the army and navy, in the post office, and other departments, that can be made in prison, is made there. Hand labor is chiefly used, but this work is of but little use in educating the prisoner for outside labor.

2. **English Labor Agitators.**—It is strange that English labor agitators, so generally intelligent in regard to industrial and economic questions, are so easily deluded into the belief that prisoners who labor for the government are removed from the arena of competition. The indifference to productive labor in England makes the system an expensive one.

3. **The Right Principle.**—On the other hand there is no greater fallacy than that which assumes that the prison which pays all expenses is the best one or the cheapest. In some of our states the determination of legislators that prisons shall be self-supporting has been a barrier to reform. The prison is cheapest financially, as well as best ethically, which succeeds in reforming the largest number of prisoners.

4. **Extreme Severity or Brutality.**—Nothing is clearer to penologists there and here than that extreme severity or brutality of any sort does not produce the best results. A prison discipline may be strict, exacting, uniform, and at the same time stimulating and humane. Nowhere in Europe is found a discipline so thorough and one which at the same time furnishes so many incentives to the prisoner, as in the Elmira Reformatory of New York. It is interesting to note that the managers of every reformatory regard this as a model.

5. **Commutation of Sentences.**—In England and on the continent the method of commutation of sentences has been generally adopted; that is, a sentence for a definite number of years is reduced according to a certain scale by the good behavior of the prisoner. This system is in vogue in a number of our own states. As to a system of probation there is nothing equal to that in use in Massachusetts,



PRISONERS AT WORK.

where a large number of first offenders are released on probation and officers are appointed in every county to examine and take charge of such cases.

6. Capital Punishment.—In regard to capital punishment it is interesting to note that while the death penalty, is in force in all but three of our states, and in some of them not only for murder, but for arson, mayhem, rape and burglary, it has been stricken from the codes of several European countries. Capital punishment for ordinary homicides has been abolished in Russia for more than a century, although it is still the punishment of treason. In 1874 it was abolished in Switzerland; permission to restore it was given to the cantons in 1879, but up to 1890 no canton had availed itself of the permission. Holland abolished the death penalty in 1870, Italy in 1889, Portugal in 1867. Facts collected by Mr. William Tallack, of the Howard Association of London, show that in most of those countries capital punishment had long ceased to exist before it was abolished. The general testimony is that there has been no increase of murders in any of these countries since such abolition.

7. Death Penalty.—Again it appears that in countries where the death penalty exists the number of executions for murder is very small. In Austria the average is 4 per cent. on convictions; in Prussia less than 8 per cent.; in Sweden, Norway and Denmark there is one execution in every twenty sentences for murder. In England, out of 672 committed for wilful murder, 299 were convicted and sentenced to death, while 373 were either acquitted or found insane; of the 299 condemned to death, 145, nearly one-half, had their sentences commuted.

8. Suggested Reforms.—As a result of this comparative study, the penological reforms and improvements which seem to be needed in this country, are the improvement of jails; the abolition of the lease system; the extension of the reformatory plan; the adoption of the indeterminate sentence with the parole system; the extension of the probation system both for youths and adults, as in Massachusetts; work for prisoners committed to jail on short sentences; a higher grade of prison officers; the abolition of the spoils system in relation to prison management; an allowance to prisoners of a portion of their earnings, and its application to the needs of their families; the extension of manual education and industrial schools among preventive measures, and the organization of societies for aiding discharged convicts, mainly in the direction of procuring them employment.



Hanging for. Mutiny.

The Different Methods of Capital Punishment.

1. **Rights of the Many.**—The rights of the many against the criminal has been held from the earliest times to the present, and it has been the basis of this general idea that capital punishment finds its place in the jurisprudence of every time and of every nation. "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth; yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life," is the formulated statement that makes the execution of a fellow-man a possibility in a civilized country.

2. Methods of Taking Life.—When once primitive man had decided in his own mind that justice demanded a life for a life, he apparently exercised his ingenuity in devising methods to make the life-taking process as hideous and painful as he possibly could. The Cambodian stood with sword in hand and with several strokes cleft his victim in twain. Dr. Guillotin gave to the instrument which he devised a name which is a part of the language. The Prussian, with the directness which characterizes the Teuton, simply beheaded his victim with an ax, while the more resourceful mind of the Hindoo laid his victim in the street to wait the slow tread of the elephant whose lumbering hoofs were to crush from his body the vital breath. In Armenia the swift, bright blade of the razor gleamed as the last sight that greeted the eyes of the doomed. The modern view of capital punishment has a two-fold object: First, to deprive the dangerous man of a life that might again find itself bent on mischief; then to warn those whose tendencies are similar that their end would be the end of disgrace. It was because of the deterrent effect that is supposed to reside in the taking of life that Moses tabulated his series of punishments by death.

3. The Draconian System.—Under the Draconian system the lightest crimes were held so heinous that the penalty of death ran almost through the entire gamut. But this was subsequently so modified through the one adopted by the Athenian law that men were not only not deterred and prevented from committing crime, but exile for life was a commutation easily secured. In more modern times in England, after capital punishment was an accepted fact and a public exhibition, horse stealing, cattle stealing, stealing from houses and forgery in general were capital offenses. From these crimes down to the picking of pockets no wrongdoer was exempt from death. The list would be tedious to enumerate, but suffice it to say that one hundred and sixty forms of violation of the law were punished by the execution of the individual.

4. Horrors of Persecution in Massachusetts.—In our own country, in 1650, in the colony of Massachusetts, the list had diminished until it contained only idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy, murder, manslaughter, poisoning, stealing, false witness, treason, cursing and smiting of parents, rebellious sons, Quakers and Jesuits returning after banishment; and in the year 1790 this list had been reduced to treason, murder, burglary and arson.

5. Different Methods.—The modes by which the punishment is inflicted vary in every country, from the prim-

itive method of beating the subject with clubs until life is extinct up to the application of the swift messenger electricity, that does its work almost as quickly and subtly as human thought. The killing of a victim by beating to death is the legal mode among the Hottentots, and the scene which precedes execution is almost impossible to imagine. The criminal is seized and placed in a circle composed of the leading men of his tribe. His sentence determined upon, the chief strikes the first blow, and thereafter his judges rain upon him a succession of strokes that cease only when the bruised and mangled victim falls to the ground exhausted. More skillfully barbarous, but by no means as brutal, was the punishment of boiling the victim to death. This was imposed during the reign of bluff King Hal, without benefit of clergy, upon prisoners. Those condemned to this mode of punishment were subjected to the process in boiling water, oil, molten lead, and sulphur. Another scarcely less humane mode of depriving a human being of life is that of blowing the condemned from a cannon, a subject that has been made painfully realistic by Vereschagin's great picture.

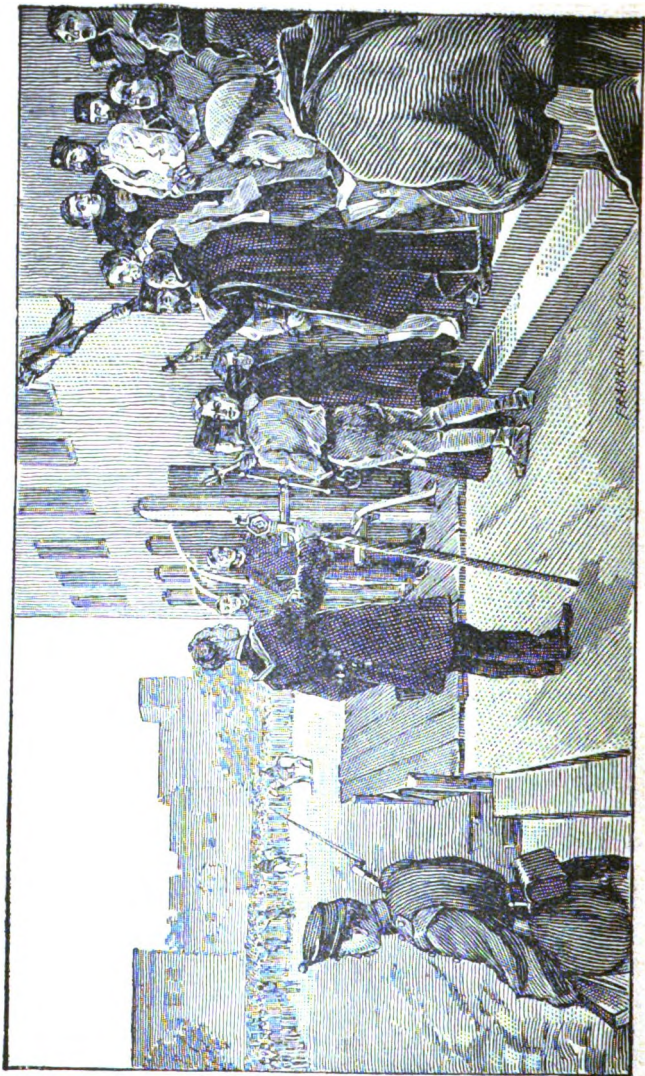
6. Burning.—Burning is one of the lowest, and to the average mind, the most dreadful forms of loosening the human soul from its environs. The ancient Romans, the Jews, the Britons and other nations have made use of it in their scheme of capital punishment. The Britons threw their victims, many in number, into wicker cages made in the form of some well-known idol. The wood was heaped around it and the fire lighted. As the flames rolled upward and mingled their roar with the impotent groans of the victims the likeness to the god was lost, but to him was accredited the vengeance imposed on the sufferers.

7. Burying Alive.—Another horrible method of inflicting the death penalty was by burying alive. It seems almost incredible that, not satisfied with interring the condemned, some barbarous tribes buried to the hips or shoulders, packing the earth firmly in, and left their victim helpless, to meet a lingering death of exposure and starvation.

8. Crucifixion.—Crucifixion, which the story of Christ has carried over the round world, is a form of punishment so repellant to modern ideas that it is almost an argument for those who deny the divinity of the Saviour who suffered. Yet Dr. Lyman Abbott has presented this practice as it existed at the time of Christ in his brilliant and interesting description:

"Of all the cruel punishments of a barbarous age, crucifixion was the most barbarous. It possessed a bad pre-

eminence of cruelty in an age when fashionable audiences crowded the vast amphitheater to applaud the fearful horrors of gladiatorial combats, and fair women gave the death signal, and feasted their sanguinary eyes on the ebbing life of the defeated. It was in this age that Cicero called crucifixion a punishment most inhuman and shocking, and wrote of it that it should be removed from the eyes and ears and the thought of men. Too horrible for a Roman citizen, no freeman might be subjected to it. It was reserved, with rare exceptions, for slaves and foreigners. Upon this Gentile cruelty the Jew looked with special horror. The cross, like the eagle, was a sign of degradation. Its infliction by the Romans was a badge of Israel's servitude. The ancient law of Moses fixed a peculiar curse to it. To crucify even a corpse was to submit it to the greatest possible indignity. Thus the agony of pain was intensified by the agony of a peculiar shame. The physical agony of the cross was that of a lingering death. The victim's life was wrested from him in a fierce, but predetermined battle, that lasted many hours, often several days. Every moment of the hopeless contest added new agony to an anguish at first almost unendurable. The form of the Latin cross is as familiar as it is sacred to all Christendom. The sufferer was usually bound upon it as it lay upon the ground. The hands and feet were then firmly nailed to the wood. Lest this fastening should prove too frail, a transverse piece of wood between the thighs afforded additional support. The cross was then elevated, with the sufferer upon it, and fastened firmly in the ground. In this act the body was terribly wrenched. The concussion often dislocated the limbs. Then hanging between heaven and earth, the victim was left to die. The hot rays of an Oriental sun beat down upon his naked body and unsheltered head. The ragged edges of his undressed wounds festered and inflamed. From these wounds shooting pains ran along in accelerating waves of increasing anguish. Every attempt to secure any relief from the unnaturally constrained position increased the torment. The blood, impeded in its circulation, flowed in slackened and laborious currents. An increasing fever consumed the body with internal fires; the head throbbed with anguish; the parched lips burned with a raging thirst. As death drew nigh insects swarmed upon the body, and birds of prey commenced to feast upon it before life was yet extinct. Yet no vital organ was directly touched, and the stubborn life surrendered to its invincible foe only after a long and protracted siege. Even the pitiless and stolid Roman endured not



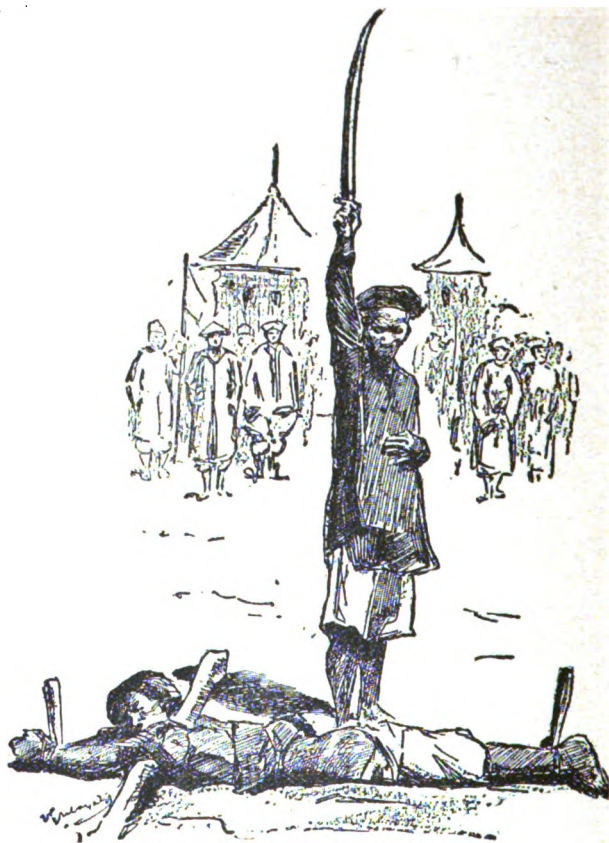
EXECUTION IN ITALY.

long the sight of sufferings at once so protracted and intense. For death, if not hastened by other means, did not usually take place for four or five days. Rarely, however, was the wretched criminal suffered to die by the mere infliction of the cross. A thrust with a spear or a blow with the club at length put an end to tortures which wearied even the patience of the spectators. Crucifixion was not, however, uncommon in an age when no discrimination was made between punishment and revenge, and when ingenuity was exhausted in the endeavor to intensify the sufferings of those condemned for crime, or even captured in war. At the time of the siege of Jerusalem hundreds of Jews were crucified together, and left to hang in sight of the city walls."

9. **Crucifrangium.**—There was a peculiar punishment, and perhaps a capital one, called crucifrangium by the ancients, inflicted on Roman slaves and Christian martyrs, as also on women and girls. Under Diocletian twenty-three Christians suffered martyrdom in this manner. The legs of the criminal were laid on an anvil, and by main force fractured by a heavy hammer, somewhat similar to the more modern custom of breaking the bones of offenders on a wheel by an iron bar.

10. **Beheading.**—Beheading is of an ancient date, and was certainly known among the Greeks and Romans. Xenophon says that losing the head was looked upon as the most honorable death. The decollation, as it was called of St. John the Baptist shows the existence of this punishment among the Jews under the Roman governor of Judea. Suetonius tells that Caligula kept an artist in beheading, who decapitated prisoners in his presence, fetched indiscriminately for that purpose from the jails. The mode formerly practiced in England, by the ax and block (and still in use in Germany), and that which originated in France late in the eighteenth century and was gradually adopted in many other European countries—the guillotine—are described more in detail elsewhere.

11. **Breaking on the Wheel.**—Breaking on the wheel is a mode of execution that has acquired some notoriety from the frequency with which it is mentioned in histories narrating the cruelties common in the Middle Ages, but it is really only one form of beating to death. The condemned was lashed upon the periphery of a large wheel, which was caused slowly to revolve, and as it revolved, he received a succession of blows from clubs in the hands of the executioners, or from bludgeons worked by clumsy machinery such as the times furnished; thus bruising the flesh, break-



EXECUTION IN CHINA.

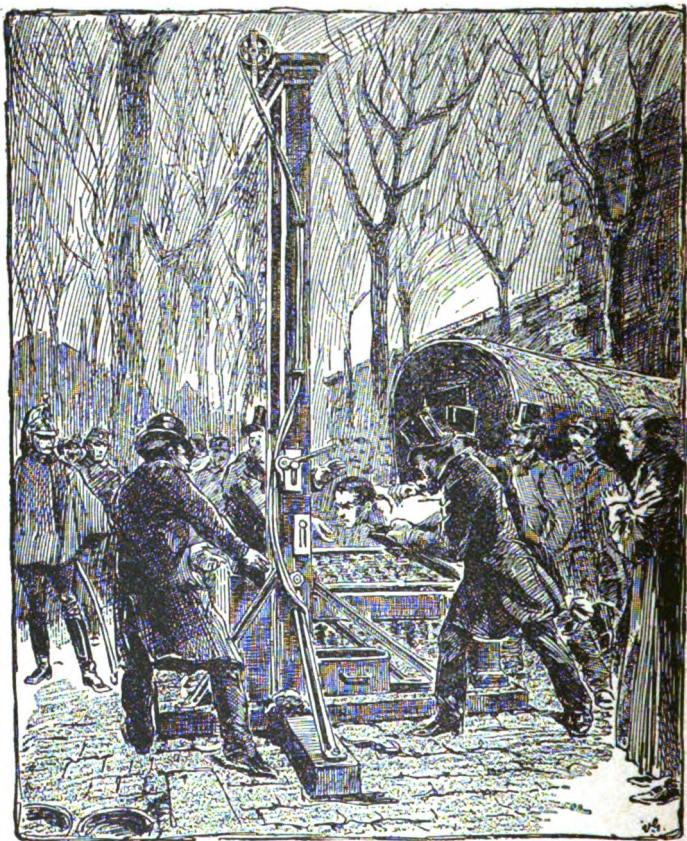
ing the bones, and steadily reducing the body to a mangled, formless corpse. The "wheel" was for centuries a common instrument of torture and death in several countries of Europe.

12. Bisecting.—Bisecting such as is practiced by the Cambodians is thus described: "Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord;" also as instanced in the subjecting of the Rabbits to saws and axes and a roasting in a brick kiln. Thus used, the terms seem to include any rude, untaught mode of cutting the body asunder with an implement like a sword, or with a wooden saw; a martyrdom said to have been inflicted upon the Prophet Isaiah, and to have been a not uncommon fate of early Christians. Ep. Heb. xi, 37, says that "many were stoned, were sawn asunder." It is mentioned as a Babylonian custom.

13. Drawing and Quartering.—Drawing and quartering was not a distinct punishment, but an adjunct or circumstance of aggravation formerly superadded in England to hanging for the heinous crimes, particularly high treason. In the ancient and severer form, sentence involving drawing and quartering directed that the offender should be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and there hanged by the neck, but not until dead; that he should be taken down again, and while yet alive his bowels should be taken out and burned before his face; and that afterward his head should be severed from the body, and the body divided into four quarters, and his head and quarters should be at the king's disposal.

14. Stripping the Skin.—Stripping the skin from the body of the condemned while he yet lived was formerly the custom in England. It was, however, a barbarous mode of torturing an offender to death, rather than a punishment in a judicial sense. The mode of punishment which includes flogging and the "knout," recently abolished in Russia, also covered by the terms "scourging," and "whipping," has not been used, primarily at least, in the other European countries in modern times as "capital punishment;" that is, has not been used where the sentence or judicial design has been to inflict death.

15. The Garrote.—The mode of execution by the garrote seems to have been originally devised by the Moors and Arabs, and to have been taken from them by the Spaniards, by whom it has been transmitted to the Spanish colonies in America. In the earliest form it consisted of simply placing a cord round the neck of the criminal, who was seated on a chair fixed to a post, and then twisting the



THE GUILLOTINE EXECUTION IN FRANCE.

cord by means of a stick inserted between it and the back of the neck till strangulation was produced. Afterward a brass collar was used containing a screw, which the executioner turned till its point entered the spinal marrow where it unites with the brain, causing instant death.

16. Hanging.—Hanging is, and has long been, the mode of capital punishment employed in England and America. In its simplest form, that of suspending the criminal by a cord around his neck from the branch of a tree, must have been of very early origin. Accounts vary as to the date of the introduction of the gallows as the instrument. This seems to have occurred in Roman dominions soon after the Emperor Constantine abolished crucifixion. An early form of this seems to have been a crude imitation of a tree—a tall post bearing at its top a projecting beam, from the end of which the fatal cord could be suspended. In the fifteenth century the gallows beam balanced, like that of a pair of scales, at the top of the post, from one end of which depended the halter, and from the other a heavy weight. When the rope was pulled down and put around the offender's neck, the weight at the other end lifted him from the ground.

17. Execution by the Guillotine and by Electricity.—Far superior to hanging as a means of taking life judicially is execution by the guillotine and by electricity. The guillotine is at the present day employed in France and her colonies, in Belgium, Norway, Sweden, and in Denmark. The accompanying illustration gives a clear idea of its workings. The electric chair is so far in use in the state of New York only. Although its operation was attended with some bungling at the outset, a consensus of opinion pronounces it now the safest and most humane method of taking life; and, judging by the several reports from the other side, the probabilities are that the system will soon be introduced into several European countries.

Mortgage Debt.

The census of 1890 gives the aggregate mortgage debt as \$6,019,679,985. Debt of public corporations \$6,000,000,000. The remaining private debt is estimated at \$5,000,000,000, making the total private debt more than \$17,000,000,000. The public debt amounts to \$2,027,170,546.

New Yorkers owe more than one-fourth of the mortgage debt, Pennsylvanians a tenth. These two states, with Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Ohio, owe more than one-half of the debt, so that western and southern people need not feel that they alone have debt.



**THE EXECUTION OF KEMLER,
The First Electrical Execution in America, New York City.**



IN THE JAIL YARD.
The Schoolhouse Makes No Criminals.

The Origin and History of the Common School System.

The thought that man as man, without reference to any special practical end, should be educated seems to have occurred first to the Greeks, but it was not until the Reformation that men began to hold the opinion that every man's intellect should be so trained as to be able to read and inquire and think for itself.

During what are called the dark centuries a state of deplorable ignorance prevailed all over Europe. It is refreshing to find in the history of this dark middle age two monarchs who strove to give to their subjects the inestimable privilege of lifting themselves out of the depths of ignorance in which they were immersed. At the accession of Charlemagne to the throne of France no means of education existed in his dominions. This monarch, who it is said was incapable of writing, invited men of letters from abroad

to come and reside at his court and instruct himself and his family. He also established schools in various cities of his empire.

In the ninth century Alfred the Great, of England, made similar efforts, but they died with him, his successors being too much occupied with warfare to continue the educational work thus initiated.



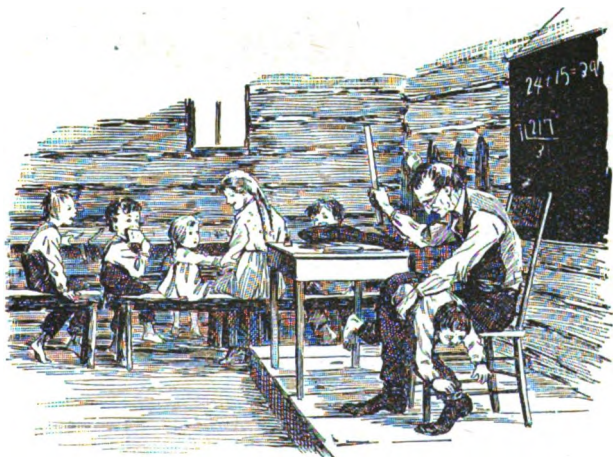
NO SCHOOL IN REACH.

Down to the time of the transitional movement in Europe from the mediæval ages to the modern world, there is little of interest to the cause of popular education to record.

The influence of the reformation upon education was made manifest early in the seventeenth century. In 1616

the Scotch Parliament adopted measures for settling and supporting a public school in each parish at the expense of the heritors or landed proprietors. The legislation was repealed at the restoration of Charles II., but was re-enacted by the Scottish Parliament in 1696.

Lord Macaulay says: "By this memorable law it was, in the Scotch phrase, statuted and ordained that every parish in the realm should provide a commodious schoolhouse and should pay a moderate stipend to a schoolmaster. The effect could not be immediately felt, but, before one generation had passed away it began to be evident that the common people



THE OLD WAY OF TEACHING SCHOOL.

of Scotland were superior in intelligence to the common people of any other country in Europe. To whatever land the Scotchman might wander, to whatever calling he might betake himself, in America or in India, in trade or in war, the advantage which he derived from his early training raised him above his competitors. If he was taken into a warehouse as a porter, he soon became foreman. If he enlisted in the army he soon became a sergeant. Scotland, meanwhile, in spite of the barrenness of her soil and the severity of her climate, made such progress in agriculture in manufactures, in commerce, in letters, in science, in all

that constitutes civilization, as the Old World has never seen equaled, and as even the New World has scarcely seen surpassed.

"This wonderful change is to be attributed, not indeed solely, but principally, to the national system of education."

Since then every power of the civilized world has adopted some system of public schools.

What little objection has been made to taxation for universal education in this country has come from wealth, which says it cannot properly be taxed for the education of the people. We must not forget that without law the ownership of that wealth could not exist.

Jeremy Bentham says: "The idea of property consists in an established expectation, in the persuasion of being able to draw such or such an advantage from the thing possessed, according to the nature of the case. Now this expectation, this persuasion can only be the work of the law. I cannot count upon the enjoyment of that which I regard as mine, except through the promise of the law which guarantees it to me. Property and law are born together and die together. Before laws were made there was no property; take away laws and property ceases."

The words, "I cannot count upon the enjoyment of that which I regard as mine, except through the promise of the law which guarantees it to me," come home with significant meaning in this day of socialism and of clashing between capital and labor, which now so often occurs in the monarchies of the Old World, and even in our own land. The law guarantees the right of property, but instantaneous with the creation of the right of property must exist the paramount claim of the government to such portion of it as may be necessary fully to effectuate that guaranty. The law must be upheld and respected, or else all rights of ownership are in jeopardy and industry paralyzed.

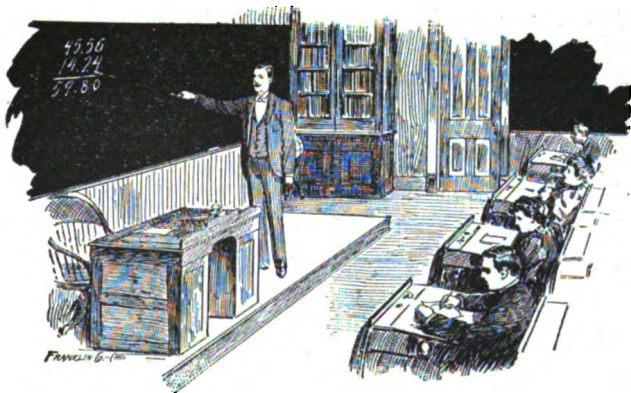
To maintain the law, education of the people is more potent than standing armies.

Lord Brougham, in the House of Commons, said: "There have been periods when the country heard with dismay that the soldier was abroad. That is not the case now. Let the soldier be abroad; in the present age he can do nothing. There is another person abroad—a less important person in the eyes of some, an insignificant person, whose labors have tended to produce this state of things. The school-master is abroad! And I trust more to him, armed with his primer, than I do the soldier in full military array, for upholding and extending the liberties of his country."

"It is intelligence," said Daniel Webster, "which has reared the majestic columns of our national glory, and this alone can prevent them from crumbling into ashes."

State education, being so important to national existence, is therefore a very appropriate object of taxation.

In the English colonies of this country the people were accustomed to support the church by taxation. In many of the New England towns they had their church, and the town chose its pastor and supported him, and in many cases the pastor was also the schoolmaster. In the course of time, however, the sects multiplied, and the church in conse-



THE NEW WAY OF TEACHING SCHOOL.

quence became disconnected from the town government; but the work of education by the government was continued.

One of the first legislative acts of the Continental Congress was in 1787. It was enacted that schools and means of education should forever be encouraged, and in pursuance of this policy the government set apart the sixteenth section in each township for the support of public schools. This enactment was for the territory north of the Ohio river. Notwithstanding the educational interests begun in this small way, it has developed great results. It was in this way that education was extended to the west, and since the abolition of slavery in the Southern states our public school system has been carried South, and the youth of all the states of the Union are now blessed with the privileges of a free public school.

The Origin of the School District.—Children cannot properly be required to go further than two miles to school, and wherever the rectangular survey prevails, of course, there is a regular system of locating schoolhouses. The township is six miles square. It is customary to locate a public highway on each section line. These highways divide the township into little squares of one mile each, and it is customary to locate a schoolhouse at each alternate cross-roads. This plan gives to each township nine schoolhouses two miles apart. A school district is thus made two miles square with a schoolhouse in the center. But this is an unfavorable shape. Those who live at the corners of the district are two miles from school. A more convenient method for forming district is recommended by Jesse Macy. By this plan a district is formed, containing five square miles instead of four, and no one who lives upon a public highway can be more than a mile and a half from school. On this plan the children living on the same highway go to the same school, while on the other plan they often go to different schools.

The Hope of Our Public Schools.

1. The Safety of American Institutions.—When the American people gained their independence they established the free public school. The founders and fathers of our country early saw that the safety and perpetuity of our country depended upon education. The nations that lead in civilization, in prosperity in invention and in general progress are those who have adopted some system of compulsory education and what is true of other nations is also true of ours. If civilization advances the public school must lead the way.

2. What Is Education.—It is the uplift of one soul by the personal contact and effort of a superior soul, not in a material, but in a moral and intellectual sense. And no appliance or method can take the place of the superior soul. How infinitesimal appear all educational machinery when Arnold of Rugby arises before us. To rub against such a man for an hour was worth all the machine work of a whole year.

3. Our Supreme Need.—Our supreme need in the schools of to-day is men, not machinery, not methods, not appliances. We need men of character, of conviction, of steadfastness of purpose.



THE SCHOOL TEACHER CLOSING SCHOOL.

If right character is to be produced in the public school, it must be through the influence of those who have a right character. The great mass of America's youth receives nothing beyond that which the public school offers. It is therefore an essential that our youth be trained in the public school in all that tends to make true citizenship.

4. **Knowledge not Education.**—Although every great teacher, from Aristotle until now, has insisted on a more rational method, we are still tyrannized over by the tradition that education is synonymous with the acquisition of knowledge. It is not an education to know many things. The brain may be loaded with a mass of heterogeneous facts, date added to date, mountain height to mountain height, river length to river length, population to population—until time or finance fails, and then the education is far from complete. Digestion and assimilation are as necessary to mental as to physical health. Only applied knowledge is power. He is most truly and really educated who is prepared for the great work of life.

5. **Moral and Religious Training.**—Saying nothing of creeds and dogmas, the youth of our nation must be under the charge of teachers who inculcate the principles of manhood. Honesty, integrity, the duty of man to man and of man to God must be impressed upon the mind in the formative years or the youth develops to be a burden and a curse to the community which he should assist to enlighten and to elevate.

6. **Responsibility of Teachers.**—He who has not been overwhelmed with the importance of the great and sacred work of instructing the youth, lacks the first elements of fitness for it. Pyramids crumble but the proudest achievements of the architect are surpassed by the teacher. His work tends to the building of the character of the individual and the enlightenment and Christianizing of the community and the nation and in this respect sweeps into eternity. Let our schools be presided over by patriotic teachers who are sound in morals and withal whole-souled Christians and the future of our country is determined.

7. **Value to National Life and Prosperity.**—Joseph Cook aptly and truly says: "There are no proper conceptions, I think, in society at large, of the value of educating the uncleanest poor. Why, where have many of the greatest inventors come from? Who was Robert Burns? Who is the American Edison? Who was Ferguson when he lay on his back and stretched a thread before him, put beads upon it and marked the positions of the stars and made a map of the constellations in the peasant's hut? Who was

that railsplitter who was assassinated in Washington at the end of a civil war, and over whose eloquence as well as over whose statesmanship, every zone of the planet stood hushed in wonder? The talent that lies in the lowest population—how are we ever to know how great it is unless we bring Burns out from under the thatch, and Ferguson up from his peasant's hut, and our Edison into proper employment, and our Lincoln from his hovel up and up, until he finds the place God made for him at the summit of political power in the foremost nation of modern times? Where are the lax executors of law, and the fleecers and tempters of the poor, who keep the veil of vice or ignorance hung over the eyes of the lower populations? A man very rarely finds out what great things are in him until he drops all the weights that impede his race. He does not know how swift he can be until every bad habit is sloughed off. Where are the men who execute the laws against intemperance? Shut your grog shops, open your schools, and God knows what flashing jewels you may yet dig out of the neglected ores at the very bottom of the unwrought mine of the modern world."

8. Incentives to Higher Education.—Our public schools are the incentives to higher education. Our colleges and universities, scattered all over the Union, controlled principally by Christian denominations, and conducted on broad and liberal plans, must depend largely upon the public school for their patronage. In the public school the desire for higher education is awakened and if fostered by the teacher, leads to noble and enlightened citizenship. Why can we fill so many institutions with students, if not for the fact that in the public school, the youth is led to see the advantages and possibilities of a truly educated man.

9. Importance of Schools.—The schoolboy of to-day becomes the voter of to-morrow. The millions of youth now in the schools of America are soon to decide all the grave questions of national interest which concern us as a people. The ballot more than the bullet must determine the destiny of our country. The ballot in the hands of the ignorant may do more mischief than the torch of the incendiary in the towers of the metropolis. Our schools are the palladium of our commonwealth.

School Savings Banks and How to Organize Them.

1. **What Parents Owe to Their Children.**—It is a lamentable fact that few children have any knowledge of the value and use of money. Few parents give their children little, if any discipline, in the art of saving money, and consequently children grow from childhood to manhood and womanhood without any knowledge of business.

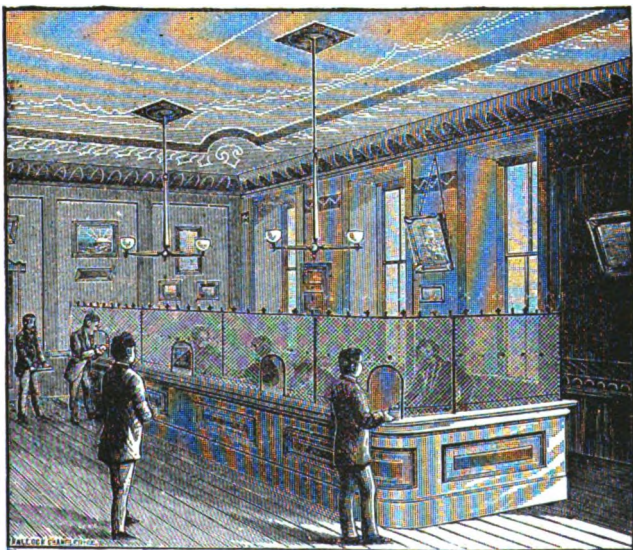
2. **Teaching Children the Value and Use of Money.**—Children should be taught the practical lessons of business in connection with their school studies. The study of arithmetic is but a theoretical system of business, and if the lessons can be made practical and applied, there will be ten times the benefit to pupils. There is nothing better than a school savings bank to bring out that which will be most available later in life. Business training cannot be begun too young; every school should have a school savings bank, and no doubt it will be the means of making many prosperous and successful business men as well as furnishing valuable lessons to the girls, which will make them competent and available in supporting themselves, should it ever be necessary to do so.

3. **The School Savings Banks System.**—The school savings banks system, so favorably known and acceptably used in some European countries, has attracted considerable attention in the United States during the past year. Its experimental introduction in a few schools here has proven it a successful and valuable educational factor. It would appear that only a wider knowledge of the simplicity of inculcating thrift, in connection with book learning, was required to insure its general adoption.

4. **In Three Hundred Schools.**—School savings banks are in use in three hundred schools in this country, and the 28,000 scholars who are depositors have about \$140,000 to their credit. These school banks are in eleven different states, Pennsylvania having one hundred and forty of them and New York sixty-five; the others being in Nebraska, Vermont, Maine, Indiana, California, Ohio, North Dakota, Massachusetts and New Jersey. These have, with few exceptions, been established since 1888; most of them during 1890, 1891 and 1892. Frequent inquiries as to the practical working and advantages of the system betoken popular interest in this method of teaching economy.

5. **Noble Examples.**—Madame Carnot, wife of the late French president, gave a Christmas entertainment in 1888

to 400 of the poorest school children in Paris at Elysee Palace, and gave each child a school savings bank book with credit of 10 francs. Many lesser instances of practical encouragement to the poor are cited by the French press. The greatest assistance that can be extended to an individual is to teach him to help himself, to see and understand his own resources and responsibilities. Pope Leo XIII. at a papal jubilee gave a bank book and 100 francs to each



DOING BUSINESS WITH SCHOOL BOYS.

boy and girl in a certain district, born on New Year's day. A contribution of one franc or a half franc to start a school account, given to a child, or better, an opportunity shown him to earn the same amount, instills the initial lesson of economy quite as effectually.

6. **How to Establish a School Savings Bank.**—In order to establish the system successfully it is necessary to have the co-operation of a bank and the approbation of the school authorities. The distribution of a few facts in regard

to the practical economy through printed literature, the newspapers or a little meeting called to present the work seldom fails to win the desired support. The banks in most towns are so anxious to secure the children's deposits that they have gladly assumed the expense of printing the required forms; indeed, in some instances it has been a delicate matter to decide which bank should have the privilege. The managers realize that if the children deposit with them they are likely to become customers in later life, and from a business standpoint they are always ready to encourage habits of thrift.

7. School Authorities Endorse It.—The school authorities are usually in glad accord with the idea of teaching economy in the schools; the teachers themselves, in most instances noted, are enthusiastic in the work. The children enter with zest into the accumulation of their earnings and savings, while the development of their individuality and self-dependence is a matter of general comment. When the system is about to be instituted the teacher explains to the scholars the end and aim of the school savings banks; that it is to teach them the practical value of money, how it grows by attention, the benefit of industry, the delight of giving and spending wisely, with other salutary lessons in thrift as opportunity occurs. The roll is called every Monday morning for the collection of the children's savings. This occupies only a very short time, even the morning the work is instituted. Each child who is a depositor has the little copyrighted savings bank card, on the face of which is his name, that of the teacher and the school. On the back are the regulations. The card is folded, and on the inside is the date for each Monday in the school year, with space opposite for amount of deposit.

8. Names Are Called.—When the names are called by the teacher each pupil who desires to deposit steps up with his card and money, handing them quickly to the teacher, saying, "Yes, 5 cents," or whatever the sum may be. She with a figure credits the amount on the child's card and on her roll book; passing the card back to the child, who keeps it always in hand as a memorandum and receipt. The first collection in the school is deposited in the bank as a general school fund. When a scholar has deposited 50 cents or one dollar, as the authorities may agree, he is given a bank book and the money is placed to his personal credit by the bank; when he has \$3 an interest of 3 per cent. is allowed him by the bank, and he has the privileges of an adult depositor, acting through school facilities.

10. Teachers' Monthly List of Depositors.—With the last collection of each month the "Teachers' Monthly list of

9. Outside of School Savings Banks Card.

Copyright to J. H. Thiry, Long Island
City, 1886.

Privilege to print this card for

be allowed to

by Mrs. Sara Louisa Oberholzer, Norritown, Pa.

SCHOOL SAVINGS BANK OF

U. S. A.

Account with

Teacher.

Depositors are requested to keep this card clean, remembering that cleanliness is next to Godliness.

"The habit of saving is an essential part of a true practical education."

"The masses know how to earn better than they know how to save."

REGULATIONS.

Deposits will be received every Monday morning only, at the morning session, by the teachers of each school. The amount will be delivered to the Principal who will deposit it in the

Savings Bank in the name of each depositor.

One cent or upwards can be received by the teacher.

When a pupil has a deposit of one dollar or more, a bank book will be given, free of charge, from the bank.

Deposits of three dollars and over will bear interest at 3 per cent. per annum.

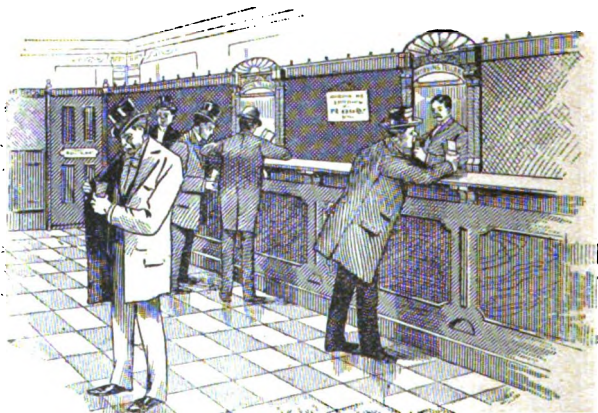
The bank books of the pupils are kept by the Principal or teacher as long as they attend school. If they leave the school, or at vacation, the book will be given to them and they can withdraw their money, but they will require the presence of their father or mother, and the signature of the Principal or teacher.

During the summer vacation deposits may be made or money withdrawn from the bank direct; the cashier acting during that time for the teacher; if the applicant is unknown to the cashier he must be identified before receiving the money.

"Take care of the pennies and the dollars will take care of themselves."

Depositors" is sent by each teacher to the principal of the school, and by him to the bank with the children's bank books that individual credits may be properly made. These lists are returned by the bank to the principal with the scholars' bank books during the week. The bank books are given to the children to take to their homes the last Friday of the month, to be returned with the following Monday deposits.

11. Signature of Parent or Guardian and Principal.—The check with which pupils withdraw their money requires



A SCHOOL SAVINGS BANK.

the signature of parent or guardian and principal. The principal uses the general school fund bank book, received when the first school deposit was made. It is always sent with the week's deposits and returned to him by messenger with full amount of credit. This frees him from responsibility, and the arrangement is such that any error can be at once traced to its source.

12. No Power to Withdraw Money.—The principal or teacher has no power to withdraw money personally. The bank books taken into the home once a month arouse family interest, and parents often have been interested to curtail needless expenses by the practical lesson in the accumulation of small savings thus taken to them. The children

enjoy this instruction which fits them for everyday life and must develop to more self-reliant manhood and womanhood.

13. A Thorough Trial.—This system has been on trial for two years in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, now having it in use in sixty of the schools. We have heard no discouraging word of it save from the cigarette and candy vendors, who complain that it injures their trade. The teachers express much gratification in the credits of the scholars, and have themselves acquired some practical knowledge of banking.

14. The Young Man with a Future.—One principal tells us of a boy who was obliged to stop school to learn a trade at fourteen preparatory to family support, but who is so interested in his school fund that he walks to it, one and a half miles, every Saturday evening for a year past with 25 cents to add to his account. This boy will doubtless make a provident successful man, and is only one of the many who are being aided through this easy instrumentality to know the value of systematic thrift.

15. May Solve the Problem of Daily Existence.—The child becomes an active rather than a passive agent; he is a recognized part of the nation, an individual factor, gaining with his book learning an acquaintance with the principles of thrift, a knowledge wherewith he may solve the problem of daily existence. The average boy and girl who have thus deposited their small savings go out into the broader life from the public school having \$100 or \$200, perhaps more, to his or her individual credit.

16. Rich and Poor Children.—The children of the rich and the children of the very poor perhaps need this economic instruction most, though there are many women and some men in the middle walks of life to-day who cannot without aid make out a bank check and endorse it or give the simplest receipt in form. This instruction gives the children familiarity with these forms, through practical use, with their earliest learning. The children of well-to-do people, who have money given them as a regular allowance, have surprised their parents by the amount saved in this manner. In some cases they have kindly given, in an unostentatious fashion, pennies to schoolmates, enabling them to start accounts.

17. Voluntary Deposits.—The deposits are all voluntary on the part of the pupils. From one-third to one-half of the scholars in the schools where the system has been introduced become depositors, some making additions weekly, others less frequently. The work is entirely philanthropic,

bringing reward to the children, the neighborhoods, and, through them, to the nation — our nation, great in its strength, great in its need of purifying and enlarging influence to insure perpetuity as God's nation.

18. **Late Records.**—Records of late school meetings in Belgium and Denmark report the Trustees of Public Instruction and School Inspectors as speaking ably to the pupils on improving and keeping in mind through life the lessons of thrift allowed them through the school banks.

Military Training in Public Schools.

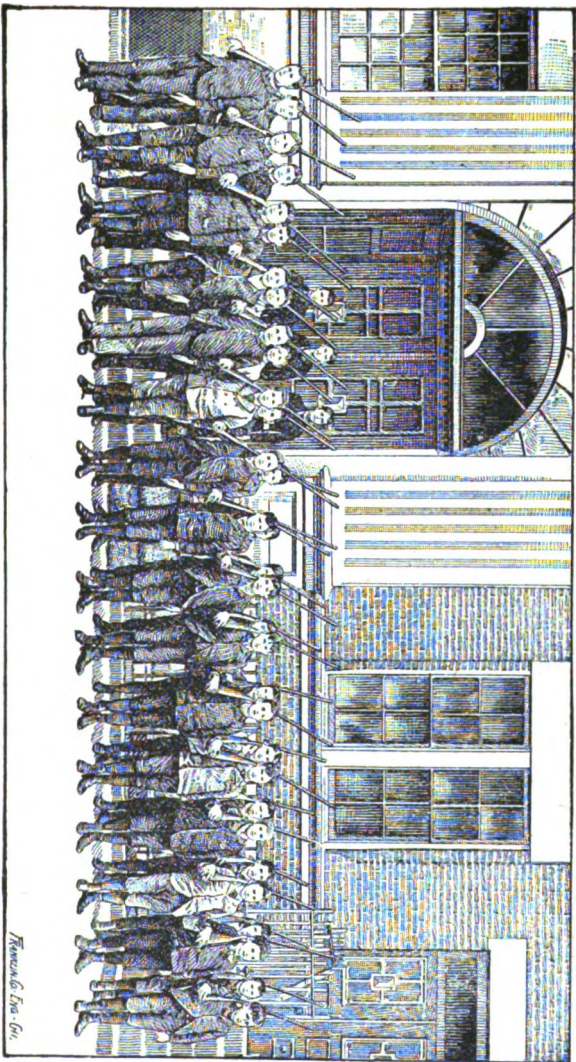
Within the past few years this idea has found favor with many, and yet it is as strongly opposed by many of our ablest, most intelligent, and most patriotic citizens. It is argued that we are a peace-loving and peace-making nation; that it is inconsistent to teach our children the principles of peace and the arts of war at the same time. It is hardly possible that the system will be universally approved and adopted. We append some arguments used by those in favor of the system.

1. **Discipline.**—Discipline and good government make a school. Without proper subordination and a due respect on the part of the pupils for law and order, there can be no intellectual progress. Discipline consequently is the essential principle of a successful school, and the first lessons of civil government and respect for law are thus early impressed upon the mind of the pupil of the public school.

2. **Military Discipline.**—The monotony of the school work can be broken and a greater interest manifested on the play ground by organizing the different grades into small military companies or bands; teachers should become familiar with the common military tactics, and should drill the school in marching and the use of arms. Wooden guns and a wooden cannon can be easily made at a small expense, and the boys will take great pride in the work, and the teachers will find it not only pleasant, but a profitable influence among the students.

All pupils should be first trained in grades and then all united into one company for general drill and parade. After pupils have attained some proficiency, officers should be elected or appointed and a regular military organization perfected.

3. **Good Government.**—Military discipline and drill are found to be of great assistance in preserving good government, in holding the student's attention to study and in sharpening the intellectual faculties. There results an in-



MILITARY TRAINING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

creased excellence in academic work. Obedience and a proper respect for authority become second nature. The cadet in learning to obey develops in himself that rarest and most precious gift, the power of self-control, which marks the noblest type of man. Moreover, there is a charm and an incentive in a military atmosphere that appeal to the most sluggish nature and inspire one to increased effort to excel.

4. Indifferent Students. Hence it is that many indifferent students, on passing from a common school to a military institution, surprise their former teachers and acquaintances by earnest application and brilliant results. Rank and office being the reward for a good deportment and scholarship, the student is impelled by a motive power not existing elsewhere. The cadet officer in performing his duties in commanding and in directing his fellows, learns lessons that will be of lasting value to him in after-life. Both as officer and as private the cadet learns to attend carefully to matters of personal neatness and exemplary deportment. There is no other system by which are instilled so thoroughly order, patience, punctuality, cheerful obedience, respect for one's superiors, and a sense of duty, honor and manliness.

5. Good for Brain Work.—"Under a system of military education it would seem that there must be a loss in the time and energy available for the usual academic work. Experience shows that the very opposite is true. It is seen that the time devoted to military instruction and exercise is more than compensated by the increased mental activity and vigor of the student. His attention is sharpened and his intellect quickened. He is more alert and can acquire more in a given time. It is not every youth who is studious by nature and who acquires knowledge from the love of acquiring."

6. To Accomplish the Best Results.—"To accomplish the best results the young student should be placed in surroundings favorable to industry; he should breathe a busy atmosphere. In the common school left to himself to regulate his hours of study, and exposed to the innumerable temptations of society and good fellowship, the pupil unconsciously or heedlessly loses valuable time. In a military school it is otherwise. Life is regular as clock work. Not only recitation and drill, but also recreation, study and even sleep have their allotted hours. In this way the pupil learns method and acquires good mental habits."

Admission to the Government Naval School at Annapolis.

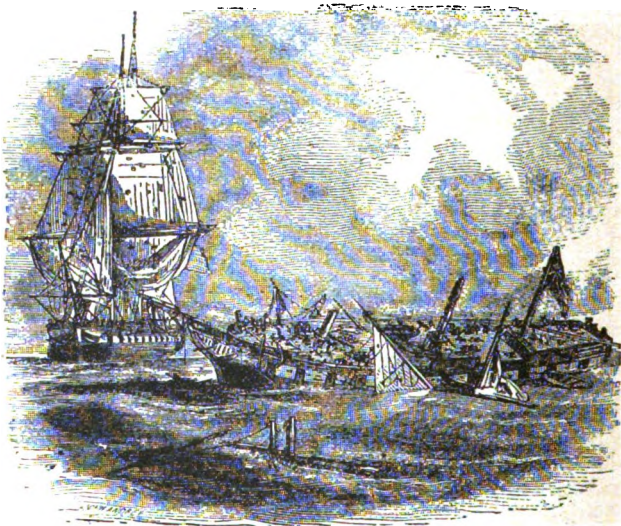
1. **Naval Cadets.**—In 1882 an act of Congress provided "that all the undergraduates at the naval academy shall hereafter be designated and called 'naval cadets,' and from these naval cadets who successfully complete the six years' academic course appointments shall hereafter be made as it is necessary to fill vacancies in the lower grades of the line and engineer corps of the navy, and of the marine corps."

2. **Number of Appointments.**—It was provided further, however, "that no greater number of appointments into these grades shall be made each year than shall equal the number of vacancies which has occurred in the same grades during the preceding year. And that these appointments to be made from the graduates at the conclusion of their six years' course shall be in the order of merit; the assignment to the various corps to be made by the Secretary of the Navy upon the recommendation of the academic board. And if there be more graduates than vacancies, those who do not receive appointments in the service shall be given a certificate of graduation, an honorable discharge and one year's sea pay."

3. **The Appointments.**—Let us see how the appointments to this great government school are made, and the requirements, both physical and mental, of a candidate for admission. The revised statutes say: "That there shall be allowed one naval cadet for every member or delegate of the House of Representatives, one for the District of Columbia, and ten at large. The Secretary of the Navy shall, as soon after the 5th of March in each year as possible, notify in writing each member and delegate at the House of Representatives of any vacancy that may exist in the district. The nomination of a candidate to fill said vacancy shall be made upon the recommendation of the member or delegate, if such recommendation is made by the first day of July of that year; but if it is not made by that time the Secretary of the Navy shall fill the vacancy."

4. **Actual Residents.**—The candidate allowed for the District of Columbia and all the candidates appointed at large shall be selected by the President. Candidates allowed for Congressional Districts, for territories, and for the District of Columbia must be actual residents of the districts or territories respectively from which they are nominated.

5. **A Candidate.**—A boy who has the appointment in hand or in view should have himself thoroughly examined by some competent physician. It not frequently happens that a candidate who may be admirably equipped mentally finds himself sadly deficient physically. Many a lad who, in his country home, was the leader in athletic sports, or whose name upon the village streets stood for a prowess of strength, learns to his amazement, when subjected to the scrutiny of the board of surgeons, that he has some disabil-



THE OUTCOME OF A SEA BATTLE.

ity of which he never dreamed. Impaired vision, disease of the organs of vision, imperfect color sense, impaired hearing or disease of the ear, any impediment of speech, loss of many teeth or many teeth generally unsound, are some of the conditions that are sufficient to cause the rejection of the candidate.

6. **Mental Requirements.**—Next, as to the mental requirements: All candidates are to be examined mentally by the academic board in reading, writing, spelling, arithme-

tic, geography, English grammar, United States history and algebra. Deficiency in any of these subjects will be sufficient to insure the rejection of the candidate. Only a sketch of the mental examination can be given within the limits of this article.

7. **Reading and Writing.**—In reading and writing candidates must be able to read understandingly and with proper accent and emphasis, and to write legibly, neatly and rapidly. In spelling they must be able to write from dictation paragraphs from standard pieces of English literature, and the spelling throughout the examination will be considered in marking the papers.

8. **Arithmetic.**—In arithmetic the candidate must possess such complete knowledge of the subject as will enable him to proceed at once to the higher branches of mathematics without further study. The examination in algebra will be elementary in character, and is limited to questions and problems upon the fundamental rules, factoring, algebraic fractions, and simple equations of one or more unknown quantities.

9. **Grammar.**—In grammar candidates must exhibit a familiarity with all the parts of speech and the rules in relation thereto. They must be able to parse any ordinary sentence given to them, and generally must understand those portions of the subject which are usually taught and comprehended under the heads of orthography, etymology and syntax.

10. **Descriptive Geography.**—Candidates will be required to pass a satisfactory examination in descriptive geography, particularly of our own country, and it is well for the candidate to bear in mind that his knowledge of the geography of the United States cannot be too full or specific.

11. **History of the United States.**—Candidates should also be familiar with as much of the history of the United States as is contained in the ordinary school histories.

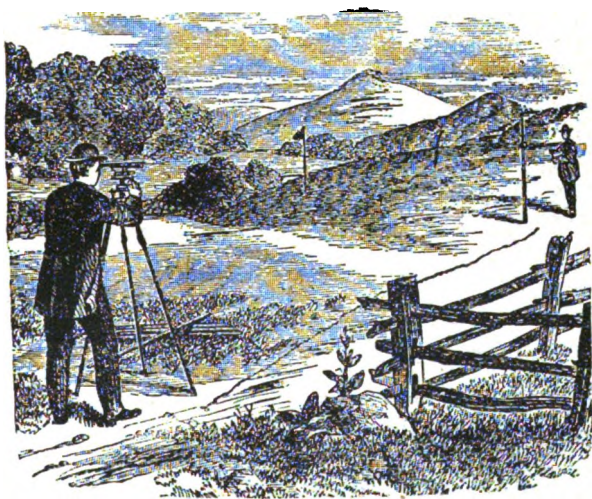
12. **Where to Go for Examination.**—Candidates for admission to West Point are now by law allowed to present themselves at certain designated army posts for examination, but unfortunately no like condition exists for the naval academy candidates, and they are all obliged to present themselves for examination at Annapolis. Those who have been nominated in time for them to reach the academy by the 15th of May will receive permission to present themselves on that date to the superintendent for examination for admission. Those that may not be nominated in time to present themselves at the May examination will be examined on the first of September following.

13. Other Requirements.—The candidates who successfully pass the mental examination will be notified to present themselves for their physical examination; and this having been successfully passed, they receive their appointments as naval cadets, and become students at the academy. Each cadet will be required to sign articles by which he binds himself to serve in the United States Navy eight years, including his time of probation at the naval academy, unless sooner discharged. The pay of a naval cadet is \$500 a year, commencing at the date of his admission. Each cadet must, on admission, deposit with the pay-officer about \$200, to be expended for clothes and textbooks. One month after admission each naval cadet is credited with the amount of his actual traveling expenses from his home to the naval academy.

United States Military Academy.

The conception of a military academy in this country dates back to 1776, when the lack of competent officers for the army led to the appointment of a committee by the Continental Congress to "prepare and bring in a plan of a military academy." Washington strongly urged the matter, and in 1802 the Military Academy was founded at West Point. For years the results were very unsatisfactory. There was a great lack of system and subordination; cadets were admitted without regard to age or qualification, but under able and careful superintendents it to-day meets the expectations of the most hopeful.

The number of appointments, requirements for admission, examinations and courses of study are similar to those of the naval academy (see page 435). Candidates must be between seventeen and twenty-two years old. At the breaking out of the Civil War, many of the cadets belonging to the southern states joined the Confederacy. This prejudiced some against the Academy for a time, but on the whole the general impression and testimony given is that all our wars since the founding of the Academy would have lasted much longer and would have resulted differently but for the skilled men that could be drawn upon in these times of necessity.



LAND SURVEYS.

How Land is Surveyed.

1. **History.**—Thomas Jefferson and Albert Gallatin are supposed to be the authors of our system of United States land surveys.

2. **Townships.**—The land is first divided into squares by lines, six miles apart. These squares are called *townships*, and a row of townships running north and south is called a *range*. Townships are given proper names, but for the purpose of location they are designated by numbers.

3. **Principal Meridians and Base Lines.**—First the surveyors select some prominent object or point, and drawing a straight line north and south through this point make what is known as the *principal meridian line*. Then drawing a line at right angles across the *principal meridian*

they establish what is called a *base line*. Marks one-half mile apart are left on each of these lines throughout their entire length.

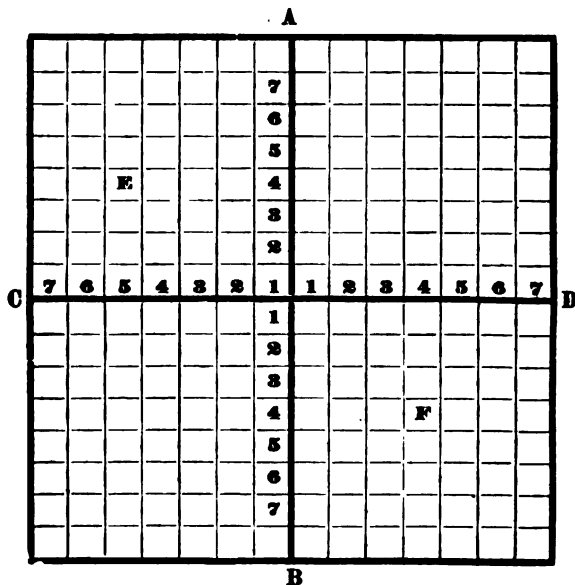


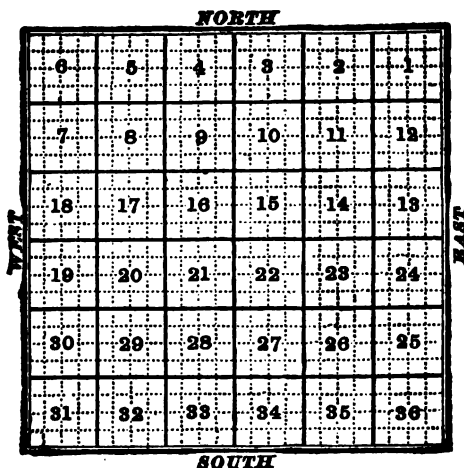
Illustration: A. B.=Principal Meridian. C. D.=Base Line. The numbers on the line A. B. mark the *township lines*, and the numbers on the line C. D. mark the *range lines*.

Range lines are run north and south six miles apart on both sides of the principal meridian and numbered as shown in diagram above. Township lines are run six miles apart, parallel to the base line and numbered as shown above.

Example: E. is in range 5, west, and in township 4, north, or 30 miles west from the principal meridian and 24 miles north of the base line (each square represents a township six miles each way). F. is in range 4, east, and is in township 4, south, or 24 miles east of the principal meridian and 18 miles south of the base line.

How to Locate Land and Read and Write Descriptions.

A township is 36 sections, each a mile square. A section is 640 acres. A quarter section, half a mile square, is 160 acres. An eighth section, half a mile long, north and south, and a quarter of a mile wide, is 80 acres. A sixteenth section, a quarter of a mile square, is 40 acres.



A TOWNSHIP WITH SECTION LINES.

1. United States survey ends with the location of the section lines. Marks are, however, made by the surveyors at the corners of the section and also half-mile marks between the corners. By these marks any piece of land may be accurately located.

2. Land is generally bought and sold in lots of 40 acres or 80 acres or 120 acres or 160 acres, etc.

640 Acres.

A	B		
C	D		
	Z	X	Y

Sec. 25.

Example: Lots A, B, C and D, taken together, are one fourth of the entire section, and described as the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25.

A is described as N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25.

C D is described as S. $\frac{1}{2}$ of N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25.

X Y is described as N. $\frac{1}{2}$ of S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25.

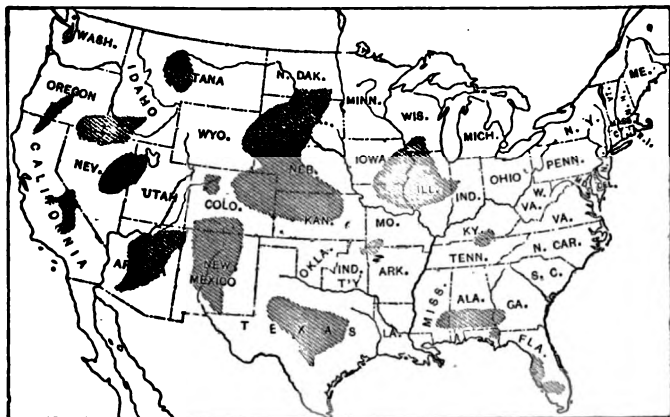
Z is described as N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25.

N. B. Where the government surveys cannot be used a full description has to be written out by the county surveyor.

The United States Homestead Laws.

The laws give to every citizen, and to those who have declared their intention to become citizens, the right to a homestead on SURVEYED lands to the extent of one-quarter section, or 160 acres; or a half-quarter section, or 80 acres; the former in cases in the class of lower priced lands, held by law at \$1.25 per acre, the latter of high priced lands, held at \$2.50 per acre, when disposed of to cash buyers. The pre-emption privilege is restricted to heads of families, widows, or single persons over the age of twenty-one.

Every soldier and officer in the army, and every seaman, marine and officer of the navy during the recent rebellion, may enter 160 acres from either class, and length of time served in the army or navy deducted from the time required to perfect title.



A MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF LAND OWNED BY FOREIGNERS.

Securities, Property and Lands Owned by Foreigners.

1. **A Surprising Fact.**—It is a surprising fact that the chief bureau of statistics shows that foreign investors and syndicates own controlling interests in many of our large buildings in the cities, and controlling interest in many of our prominent enterprises. They own a large number of our factories, breweries, and almost the majority of our insurance companies.

2. **Foreign Land Owners of American Soil.**—Viscount Scully, of England, owns 3,000,000 acres of land in Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska; a London syndicate owns 3,000,000 acres of land in Texas; Sir Edward Reid owns 2,000,000 acres of land in Florida; another English syndicate owns 1,800,000 acres in Mississippi. The Anglo-American syndicate owns 750,000 acres in Missouri, Kansas and some of the other western states; Bryan H. Evans owns 700,000 acres in Mississippi; the Duke of Southerland, 125,000 in the southwestern states; the British Company, 320,000 acres in Kansas; the Missouri Land Company, 300,000 acres in Missouri; Lord Houghton owns 60,000 acres in Florida; the



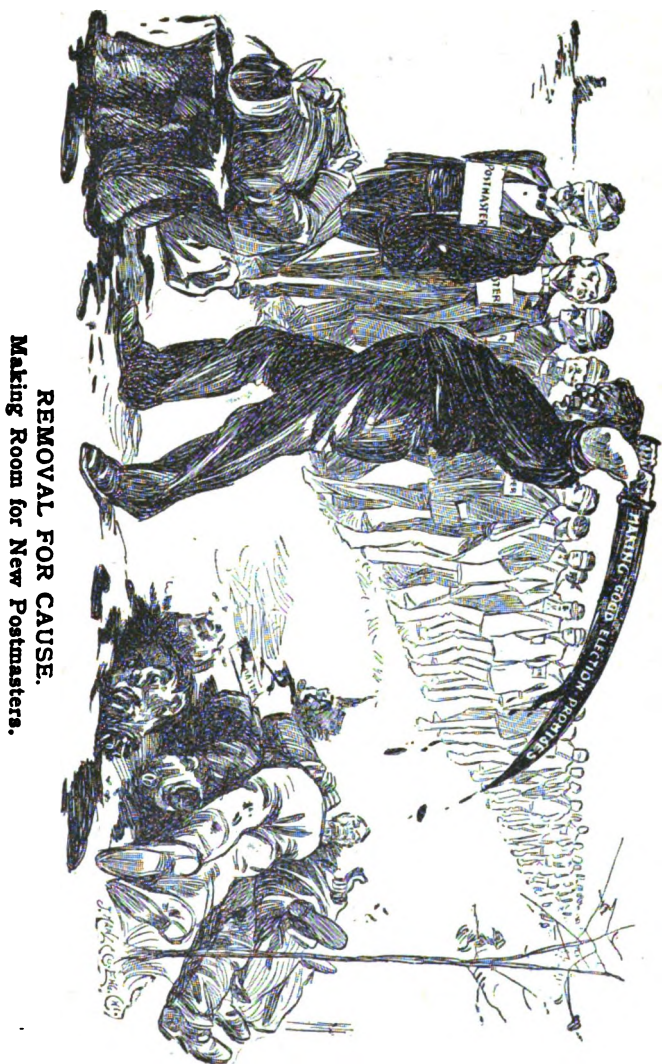
JERRY SIMPSON, Ex-Member Congress from Kansas.

English Land Company, 50,000 acres in California, and 50,000 acres in Arkansas; Alexander Grant, of London, owns 35,000 acres in Kansas; a foreign syndicate, of which the Earl of Vemlan and the Earl of Lankeville are at the head, owns 110,000 acres in Wisconsin; M. Effenhauser, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, owns 600,000 acres of land in West Virginia; a Scotch syndicate owns 50,000 acres in Florida.

3. **Grand Total.**—It is claimed that fully 20,000,000 acres of American soil are owned by land owners of England and Scotland alone. This does not include other foreign syndicates who own over 7,000,000 acres of land in other portions of the country.

4. **The Duties of the American Congress.**—It is evident that to allow foreigners to own such vast areas of land in America is not good for the country. The revenue coming from such land only enrich foreigners who have no interest in our institutions, only to reap the profits from the investments. They do nothing to add to the development and prosperity of the country; they are not interested in perpetuating our free institutions. The investments coming from these vast areas of land should be kept in the country to develop it and build up its commercial prosperity.

Congress should pass a law compelling every foreigner who owns land in America to reside within its boundaries. No non-resident foreigner should be permitted to own our valuable soil.



REMOVAL FOR CAUSE.
Making Room for New Postmasters.

The Right Principles of Civil Service Reform.

1. **An Act of Congress.**—The ninth section of an act of Congress approved March 3, 1871, and entitled "An Act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the government for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and seventy-two, and for other purposes," provides, "That the President of the United States be and he is hereby authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations for the admission of persons into the Civil Service of the United States as will best promote the efficiency thereof, and ascertain the fitness of each candidate in respect to age, health, character, knowledge, and ability for the branch of service into which he seeks to enter; and for this purpose the President is authorized to employ suitable persons to conduct said inquiries, to prescribe their duties and to establish regulations for the conduct of persons who may receive appointments in the civil service."

2. **Three Parts.**—The public service of the United States is divided into three branches—the Civil, Military and Naval. The Civil Service may be defined as that which is neither Military nor Naval, and comprises all the offices by which the civil administration is carried on.

3. **The Appointing Power.**—The Constitution authorizes each House of Congress to choose its own officers. It empowers the President to nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint certain officers who are mentioned by name, and all other officers whose appointments are not otherwise provided for in the Constitution, and which shall be established by law. It authorizes Congress to vest, by law, the appointment of such inferior officers as it may think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments. The courts of law appoint their own officers. The President alone appoints very few, and they are mainly of an honorary character. Those who are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, are in number about 3,000. The other inferior officers, about 50,000 in number, are appointed by the heads of departments, sometimes directly, sometimes upon the nomination of another officer.

4. **Early Appointments.**—During the early administrations appointments were made from considerations of character and fitness, and removals took place for cause. This practice as it was the wisest and most reasonable, was

also to be expected, because Washington having been unanimously elected to the Presidency, party divisions, as we know them, were developed only toward the close of his administration. He required of applicants proofs of ability, integrity and fitness. "Beyond this," he said, "nothing with me is necessary or will be of any avail to them in my decision." John Adams made few removals and those for cause. Jefferson said that the pressure to remove was like a torrent. But he resisted it and declared in his famous phrase, that "the only questions concerning a candidate shall be, Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?" Madison, Monroe and John Quincy Adams followed him so faithfully that the Joint Congressional Committee upon Retrenchment reported in 1868 that, having consulted all accessible means of information they had not learned of a single removal of a subordinate officer except for cause from the beginning of Washington's administration to the close of that of John Quincy Adams.

5. The Motto.—Senator Marcy, of New York, first used the famous phrase in reference to the offices of the Civil Service: "To the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." From that time it has been practically the motto of the administration of every party. As its evil results have been observed, various efforts have been made to obviate them. But the practice has become a tradition which was not readily disturbed. No measures for a general reform were taken until the close of the Forty-first Congress when, upon the positive recommendation of the President, the section of the act given on previous page was passed.

6. Whole Machinery of the Government is Pulled to Pieces Every Four Years.—Political caucuses, primary meetings and conventions are controlled by the promise and the expectation of patronage. Political candidates for the lowest or the highest positions are directly or indirectly pledged. The pledge is the price of the nomination, and when the election is determined pledges must be redeemed. The business of the nation, the legislation of Congress, the duties of the departments, are all subordinated to the distribution of what is well called "the spoils." No one escapes. President, secretaries, senators, representatives are pertinaciously dogged and besought on the one hand to appoint, on the other to retain, subordinates. The great officers of the government are constrained to become mere office-brokers. Meantime, they may have their own hopes, ambitions and designs. They may strive to make their patronage secure their private aims. The spectacle is as familiar as it is painful and humiliating.



THE SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE.
To the Victor Belong the Spoils.

7. The Evil Results.—The evil results of the practice may be seen, first, in its perversion of the nature of the election itself. In a free country an election is intended to be, and of right should be, the choice of differing policies of administration by the people at the polls. It is properly the judgment of the popular intelligence upon the case which has been submitted to it during the canvass by the ablest and most eloquent advocates. But the evil system under which the country suffers tends to change the election from a choice of policies into a contest for personal advantage. It is becoming a desperate conflict to obtain all the offices, with all their lawful salaries and all their unlawful chances. The consequences are unavoidable. The moral tone of the country is debased. The national character deteriorates. No country or government can safely tolerate such a surely increasing demoralization.

8. Honorable Men.—There are honorable men who enter the service with the sincerest purpose of doing their duty, but the evil condition of the system forces them often to profess what they do not believe, and in a manner which is repugnant to them. They do not have that pride in the Civil Service of the country which distinguishes the Military and Naval Services. For how can a position so often procured without proved qualification, and so often lost without fault, appeal to the desire or the ambition of worthy men? There are modest and honest and able citizens enough who would gladly serve the country for a moderate and permanent salary, and who are the very servants the country needs; but they decline to enter upon competition, not of excellence, but of influence; a competition in which actual qualification does not determine the result. The conditions of the service are such that they cannot avoid the feeling that their minds are often regarded as mortgaged, their opinions as hired.

9. Criticism Upon the System.—Nor is this surprising when it is remembered that a bill was introduced into Congress not long ago forbidding the minor officers in the Civil Service the usual political liberty of all American citizens to serve as delegates in political conventions or as members of political committees. It is the sharpest criticism upon the system that it is held to unfit a citizen for the honest discharge of his political duties. And there is no one who is familiar with its practical operation who does not feel that there was reason in the proposition.

10. The Mischief.—But the mischief does not end here. When public offices are regarded only as rewards for political service, they will be constantly multiplied to sup-

ply more places. There will be incessant temporary employments, as they are called, and consequent deficiency bills and supplementary appropriation bills. Meanwhile, the influence which has obtained the office, not for the public service, but as a private reward, will be slow to see inefficiency or actual dishonesty in the conduct of the incumbent. The tendency will be to disbelieve and to excuse and to postpone inquiry; so that under this system not only are useless offices created, but there is the strongest temptation to conceal corruption, and abuses and extravagances, resulting from a multiplication of such offices, are constantly increasing.

11. A Good and a Bad System of the Civil Service.—It is not possible to compute in figures the exact economical difference between a good and a bad system of the Civil Service. It is necessarily a matter of inference and of comparison between the probable operation of a careless and a careful method. But it is estimated, by those who have made a careful study of all the facts, that one-fourth of the revenues of the United States is annually lost in the collection, and for a large part of that loss a system of the service which is fatally unsound may reasonably be held responsible.

12. Long and Annoying Resistance.—Even if the appointing power declare that it prefers a certain person, peculiarly fitted for the place, the appointment is, nevertheless, demanded or contested as of right by the friends of other persons. If the appointing power persists, and the place is filled as it prefers, it is only after a long and annoying resistance to pressure. But should it be the head of a department who has some measure before Congress for which he wishes every vote that he can procure, there is a powerful temptation to yield the appointment in order to secure the vote. Thus the evil system increases official temptation and makes honesty difficult; and it is not surprising that a bill was recently introduced into Congress making it a penal offense for members of Congress to importune the appointing power for places.

13. Civil Service by Promotion.—Admission to the higher grades of employment in the Civil Service by promotion is cardinal condition of a sound system. When it is understood that good character and superior fitness procure entrance to office, and that the tenure is dependent upon condition, and that conduct and ability determine promotion, the desire of entering a service which thus offers a career to honorable ambition will naturally be felt by many who command no political influence, and who do not care

to enter now. At present all the advantages of promotion in stimulating zeal and fidelity are lost, because there is practically no system of promotion. The most industrious and competent officers constantly see others, inexperienced and often incompetent, suddenly brought into the service from the outside and placed above them. It is disheartening to the officer and dangerous to the service, because however bad the present practice may be, and however illogical under that practice to expect merit to be regarded, yet the simple fact that there is, and can be but one true principle of a good service, will constantly assert itself in the mind of the incumbent. The prospect of promotion by merit, upon the other hand, will quietly animate every officer to such discharge of his duty that there will be constant competition of excellence.

14. Promotion of Merit.—Carrying the same principle further, and seeking to obtain all the advantage which promotion by merit offers, it seems to us desirable to open every vacancy in the higher grades of offices to the free competition of applicants from all the lower grades of the same offices. Promotion, indeed, is often thought to be limited to an advance from one step to the next higher. But if promotion by mere seniority be abandoned, if it be understood that any one who is properly qualified to enter at the lowest point may, whenever the vacancy occurs, compete for the highest, not only is the best fitness secured for the highest point, but better men are attracted to enter at the lowest.

15. The Services of any Honest and Able Man.—The country is entitled to the services of any honest and able man who may wish to serve it. We propose that every person who, after due public notice, shall present himself at the time and place designated for the purpose, shall be examined. But he must have satisfactorily proved that he is of good character, of suitable age, and in sound health. He must also be a citizen of the United States, and be able satisfactorily to speak, read and write the English language.

16. Competitive Examinations.—The Civil Service reform must sooner or later apply the principles of fitness and merit and qualifications for office. The Civil Service as far as it applies to written recommendations and promotions according to qualification has worked wonderful results in this system and other departments of the government, and if the system be extended so as to apply to the candidates for office to be filled by appointment, the government service will be not only better, but will be more economically conducted.

17. The Purpose of Examination.—The purpose of the examination is to ascertain the fitness of the applicant for the position that he seeks. But a mere pass or standard examination, that is, an examination which requires of the applicant only the ability to pass an easy line and to become one of many from who the appointment is to be made, is an examination which constantly tends, under the pressure of patronage, to become a mere form, such as many that are now held in custom-houses and elsewhere. If, however, the applicant knows that he must not only pass the line, but pass it so as to be ranked among the two or three highest of his associates, proficiency alone will determine the result. The most powerful patronage cannot make its candidate really quicker or more intelligent than competitors who may present themselves with no patronage whatever. Its only hope, then, is to corrupt the examiners to permit collusion, and the possibility of collusion is to be obviated by the details of methods of examination and certificate. The honest competitive examination is the only fundamental security against the power of mere patronage, because, without regard to irrelevant influences, it selects not those who are most strongly urged but those who are most fully qualified.

United States Civil Service Rules.

The purpose of the Civil Service Act, as declared in its title, is "to regulate and improve the Civil Service of the United States." It provides for the appointment of three Commissioners, a Chief Examiner, a Secretary, and other employes and makes it the duty of the Commission to aid the President as he may request in preparing suitable rules for carrying the act into effect; to make regulations for and control the examinations provided for, and supervise and control the records of the same; and to make investigations and report upon all matters touching the enforcement and effect of the rules and regulations. The address of the Commission is Washington, D. C. The president of the Commission is John R. Procter; the secretary is John T. Doyle.

The service classified under the act, and to which it and the rules apply, embraces the Executive Departments at Washington, the Department of Labor, the Fish Commission, and the Civil Service Commission, the observers in the Weather Service, the customs districts in each of which there are fifty or more employes, eleven in number; all free-delivery postoffices, now 610 in number; the Railway Mail

Service, and the Indian School Service, including altogether about 43,000 places, or about one-fourth in point of numbers and one-half in importance and in salaries of the entire Civil Service.

The Classified Departmental Service embraces all places in the Departments at Washington, excepting messengers, laborers, workmen and watchmen (not including any person designated as a skilled laborer or workman), and no person so employed can, without examination under the rules, be



Not Recognized.

assigned to clerical duty, and also excepting those appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Classified Customs Service at the eleven ports embraces the places giving \$900 a year, and all those giving a larger salary where the appointee is not subject to confirmation by the Senate. The Classified Postal Service embraces all places above the grade of a laborer except the postmaster. The Classified Railway Mail Service embraces all employes of the Railway Mail Service.

The Classified Indian Service embraces all physicians, school superintendents and assistant superintendents, school teachers and matrons in the Indian Service. Certain of the places within the Classified Service are excepted from examination by the Civil Service rules, and may be filled in the discretion of the appointing officers without examination; a few other places may be so filled, but the great mass of the places are filled by competitive examination.

For places in the Classified Service where technical qualifications are needed special examinations are held. In the Departmental Service they are held for the State Department, the Pension, Patent and Signal offices, Geological and Coast Surveys and other offices.

APPLICATIONS.

Applicants for examination must be citizens of the United States of the proper age. No person habitually using intoxicating liquors can be appointed. No discrimination is made on account of sex, color or political or religious opinions. The limitations of age are: For the Departmental Service, not under twenty years; in the Customs Service, not under twenty-one years, except clerks or messengers, who must not be under twenty years; in the Postal Service, not under eighteen years, except carriers, who must not be under twenty-one or over forty, and in the Railway Mail Service not under eighteen or over thirty-five years. The age limitations do not apply to any person honorably discharged from the Military or Naval Service of the United States by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty. Such persons are preferred in appointments under \$1,754, R. S., and certified to appointing officers before all others of higher grade.

Every one seeking to be examined must first file an application blank. The blank for the Departmental, Railway Mail, or Indian School Service should be requested directly of the Civil Service Commission, at Washington. The blank for the Customs or Postal Service must be requested in writing by the persons desiring examination of the Customs or Postal Board of Examiners at the office where service is sought. These papers should be returned to the officers from whom they emanated.

EXAMINATIONS.

The applicants to enter the services designated are examined as to their relative capacity and fitness. The ordinary clerical examinations are used only in the Customs and

Departmental Services for clerkships of \$1,000 and upward requiring no peculiar information or skill. They are limited to the following subjects: First, orthography, penmanship and copying; second, arithmetic—fundamental rules, fractions, and percentage; third, interest and discount, elements of bookkeeping and accounts; fourth, elements of the English language, letter-writing, and the proper construction of sentences. For places in which a lower degree of education suffices, as for employes in postoffices, and those below the grade of clerks in custom houses and in the Departments at Washington, the Commission limits the examination to less than these four subjects, omitting the third and parts of the fourth subject. No one is certified for appointment whose standing in the examination is less than 70 per centum of complete proficiency, except that applicants claiming military or naval preference under §1,754 R. S., need obtain but 65.

The law also prescribes competitive examinations to test the fitness of persons in the service for promotion therein. The Commission gives a certificate to the person examined, stating whether he passed or failed to pass.

APPOINTMENTS.

When there is a vacancy to be filled, the appointing officer applies to the Commission or proper examining board, and it reports to him the names of the three persons of the sex called for graded highest on the proper register of those in his branch of the service and remaining eligible, and from the three a selection must be made. In the Departmental Service appointments are apportioned among the states on the basis of population.

Every appointment is made for a probationary period of six months, at the end of which time, if the conduct and capacity of the person appointed have been found satisfactory, the appointment is made absolute. There is a constant demand for men stenographers and typewriters. The number of women applying for clerical places is greatly in excess of the needs of the service.

The following are excepted from examination for appointment: Confidential clerks of heads of departments or offices, cashiers of collectors and postmasters, superintendents of money-order divisions in postoffices, custodians of money for whose fidelity another officer is under bond, disbursing officers who give bonds, persons in the secret service, deputy collectors and superintendents and chiefs of divisions of bureaus, and a few others.

**REV. DR. PARKHURST.**

The Serious Problems of Government in Large Cities.

1. The Dangers That Threaten American Liberty.—
The danger that threatens American liberty comes largely from the foreign population in our large cities. The cities are increasing rapidly and most of the present unrest and discontent of the people comes from our cities. The most serious problem that the American people must soon be called upon to solve will be the settlement or adjustment of

the discontent in our large cities. One of the greatest safeguards is to encourage every laborer to secure a home of his own. As soon as he secures some property his interest in the government and law will be materially changed. The dangers of the American cities are the foreign population which are rapidly controlling every form of municipal government.

2. The Growth of American Cities Twice as Rapid as That of the Whole Population.—It is not to be denied that many who can not be suspected of want of zeal for the success of Democracy in the United States are thrown into grave doubts as to the future of our system by its imperfect success in our large cities. The lesson of history in the past has been that great cities are among the chief dangers of Democracy. I am no alarmist. My business is not agitation. But I confess that I consider this lesson of history as to democracies, when put side by side with the facts that we are and are to be a nation of great cities, something that should bring thoughtful men to a pause. We hear daily enough, and more than enough, of the corruptions of our great cities. But it is not so commonly noticed that population increases in our cities with vastly greater rapidity than elsewhere.

3. Predominate in Influence.—If it were perfectly certain that half of the civilized world was henceforth to live in cities and large towns, it would not be uncertain which half of the world would predominate in influence over the other half, the part in the towns or the part out of the towns. It would not be uncertain either, that the management of large towns would become a problem of the first importance in civilization. Nor would it be uncertain that the management of the towns on the Democratic principle would have extraordinary difficulties. Now, I believe it capable of being made very probable that the tendency of the application of the discoveries of the railway and the telegraph to create centers and facilitate intercommunication, must cause a vastly increased percentage of the civilized world to live henceforth in cities and large towns.

4. Much as Cities do for Virtue They do More for Vice.—It is evident that the problem of the perishing and dangerous classes must grow in importance with every increase of the growth and numbers of great cities. Such has been the entire experience of modern as of ancient civilization. I do not forget for an instant that the massing of men gives greater opportunities to virtue. Heaven forbid that we should fail to remember, in view of the perilous future, any part of the influence of the tendency of men in cities to stimulate the press, the pulpit, and the school.

5. Stern Truth of History.—But it is the notorious, stern truth of history that much as cities do for virtue, they do vastly more for vice. You doubt this? Would that the proof were not so near home! One-half the criminals of Massachusetts, for example, are found in Boston. Mr. Phillips has shown that for ten years the returns proved that 42 per cent. of the population of the county was arrested for crime, while in other counties the number was only 1, 2, or 3 per cent. This is the result of massing up here property and population. It is a part of the operation of the inevitable laws of human nature in the present state of human culture, and in the present arrangements of philanthropic endeavor. Boston has one-half the criminals of Massachusetts, and yet only one-sixth of the population.

6. Bad Politics.—There are not two cities on the continent of over 200,000 inhabitants in which the local elections are not in the control of the perishing and dangerous classes. Consider, secondly, the power of a corrupt city population to subsidize the city press and thus poison the fountains of political influence for the country at large. Let fall here the light of the Gorgon's head.

7. New York City.—New York City is not an American city. For over 50,000 voters there of native birth there are 70,000 of foreign. No American city could be managed as New York is. What is true of New York City is true of our other large cities in the United States, they are largely being ruled by the foreigners, people who have little regard for the social, political or religious institutions of the country. They hold the balance of power and largely rule every American city. In many of the riots of 1894 there were hardly enough American born citizens to act as interpreters for the rioters.

8. Power of the Whiskey Ring to Control City Elections.—Nor, in the fourth place, need I pause upon the proof that the chief perils from the perishing and dangerous classes in great cities arise from intemperance and its associated vices. When the subject of a municipal police was first brought before the Massachusetts Legislature this proposition was discussed in a scholarly way, and Mr. Phillips repeatedly presented this single point in a popular way. He was hissed for going so far as to assert that for twenty years the mayor and aldermen of Boston have been but a committee of the places for gambling and of the liquor shops of the peninsula. The year 1900 will not hiss Wendell Phillips.

CHAPTER IX.

Issues of the Day.

A COMPLETE HISTORY OF STRIKES.

1. **American History.**—It is the very generally accepted opinion that the disturbance in New York City, in 1803, popularly known as the "sailors' strike," was the earliest example of the strike known in this country. This opinion may be authoritatively controverted by facts, which afford proof of a series of strikes among the boot and shoe makers of Philadelphia, beginning in 1796, and make it reasonably certain that a strike occurred among the bakers of New York City as early as 1741.

2. **Strikes Grew.**—From these beginnings the practice of striking by employes who desired some concession regarding their wages, or were otherwise dissatisfied with the conditions under which they worked, grew, until in 1835 strikes had become so numerous as to call forth remonstrant comments from the public press, the *New York Daily Advertiser*, on June 8, observing that "strikes are all the fashion," and that "it is an excellent time for the journeymen to come from the country to the city." From this period up to the present time strikes have been common, their frequency depending upon the industrial conditions which prevailed.

3. **Strikes in England.**—History shows that strikes took place shortly after the plague of 1349. The crops then rotted on the ground for lack of reapers; whole flocks and herds perished for want of care-takers, houses were left unfinished by the builders, even the workmen employed at the King's palace deserted their business, and unless for wages which were considered "outrageous," labor was not to be had in country or town. These strikes in the fourteenth century were encountered with measures which illustrate the fundamental differences between mediæval and modern political economy.



THE BEGINNING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA COAL MINERS STRIKE, 1864.

4. Statute of Labor.—A statute of labor was passed, ordaining that every man and woman, free or bond, within the age of threescore years, and not having landed property or other means of livelihood, should work for any employer requiring their labor at the old rate of wages. This statute was followed by a series of enactments, royal mandates, and municipal regulations rigorously suppressing combinations of workmen, and inflicting fines, imprisonment, and the punishment of the stocks on all artificers, laborers, and servants refusing to serve for the ancient wages, or even leaving the village or town wherein they had hitherto dwelt.

5. Conflicting Facts.—In place of new restraints on the movements and combination of workmen, old restrictions have been repealed, trades-unions have been legalized, and the classes most opposed to strikes have contented themselves with denouncing them as at once mischievous and ineffectual. On the last point the actual results have been conflicting. Many strikes have been successful in raising wages or reducing the hours of work, but on the other hand many have failed; in not a few cases it has been demonstrated that the state of trade, prices and profits left no margin for compliance with the demands of the workmen, and in some it is certain that employers were positive gainers by the suspension of business. These conflicting facts, and the public attention which strikes have engaged, have led to a whole literature on the subject, but the matter of it may be stated in a few words.

6. Wise Propositions.—The proposition which may with best reason be affirmed is that the chief benefit to the working classes from past strikes is that they have contributed to bring about measures which, besides other beneficial results, tend to prevent their occurrence in the future. Co-operation, industrial partnership of capitalists and workmen in various forms, boards of conciliation and arbitration, wiser rules and policy on the part of trades-unions, all owe something to the lessons learned from the strikes. No panacea is likely to be discovered in our age which will put an end altogether to disputes between labor and capital, but something has already been done to render their relations more harmonious in many trades.

7. Expense of Strikes.—In 1883 Mr. Adolph Strasser, the president of the Cigar Makers' International Union, testified before the United States Senate Committee on Labor and Capital that there had then been 362 strikes among the cigar makers recognized by his organization, of which 204 were successful, 137 lost, 12 compromised, and 10 then in progress. The expenditures for the strikes amounted to



STRIKERS ATTACK THE PROPRIETOR OF THE MINE.

\$1,800,000 per annum, and the reductions prevented, to at least \$500,000 per annum. Prof. Sartorius von Waltershausen has made a study of the strikes in the United States from November 1, 1879, to October 1, 1880. Of the 121 for an increase of wages, 80 were won and 19 compromised; of the 26 against a reduction of wages, 21 were lost, 3 compromised, and 2 won. It is seen that strikes fail sometimes, and are sometimes won, but in both cases there is serious loss to somebody, and it would be a gain to everybody if the result of the strike, whatever it may be, could be reached without the strike.

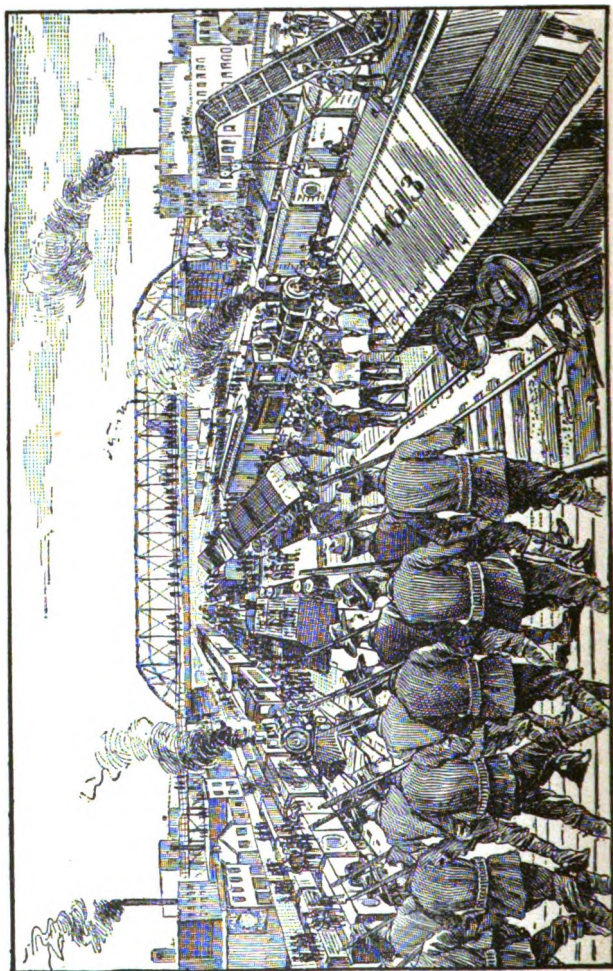
The Great Pullman Strike.

The great Pullman and railroad strike of 1894 originated in a demand for an increase of wages by the mechanics employed in the car manufacturing shop of the Pullman Palace Car Company, at Pullman, Ill.

1. **The Demand Was Refused**, and 2,000 men laid down their tools on the 11th of May. An attempt at arbitration was made a few days afterward, but it failed. Matters stood thus until June 15, when a committee of the strikers again sought the officers of the Pullman company with a proposition to arbitrate the dispute. They were met with the reply that there was nothing to arbitrate.

2. **The American Railway Union.**—Before the strike began the labor organization known as the American Railway Union had assured the Pullman men that in the event of a strike the union would support them by declaring a boycott against the Pullman cars; that is, that the members of the union, employees of the railroads, would refuse to handle trains made up in whole or in part of Pullman cars. On June 26 the boycott was declared, and the general strike began.

3. **The Mob.**—During the strike more than a thousand freight cars were set on fire and burned. Forty-five trains were stoned and fired upon by the mobs along the line of the railways. Buildings, station houses and railroad property were set on fire and burned. Innocent people traveling in the cars were injured by rocks and pieces of iron and bullets thrown through the windows of the cars. Locomotives were started on the tracks and sent wild along the roads, endangering the lives of hundreds of people. On July 5 a mob of ten thousand people gathered in one part of



THE CHICAGO STRIKE, 1894.

the city and moved nearly three miles along through a dense part of the city, destroying and burning property, and the universal cry of that mob was: "To hell with the government!" How near this comes to the carrying out of the declaration of the anarchists of Pennsylvania, who proclaimed that they were "opposed to all private property, and, as the state is the bulwark of property, they were opposed to all government," I need not stop to inquire.

4. **The Next Three Weeks.**—It would be impossible, in the space at our disposal, even if it were necessary, to tell in full the story of the next three weeks. The disturbance was greatest at Chicago, but it extended to many points in the West and to a few points in the East.

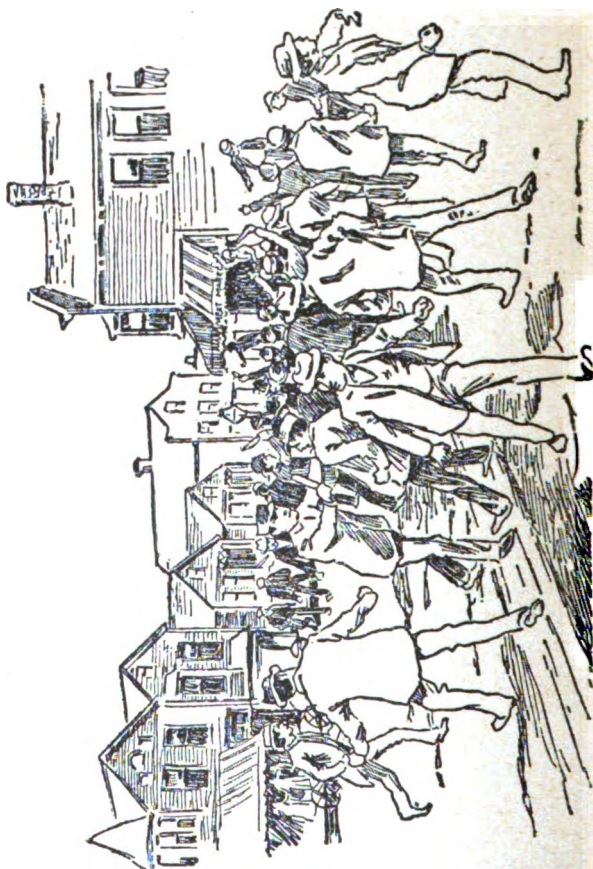
5. **Attempt to Prevent the Running of Trains.**—The attempt to prevent the running of trains was accompanied by violence in which, it is said, many of the strikers took part; but by far the greatest part of the disorder was the work of the lawless element of the population, consisting largely of foreigners, which is always at hand to take advantage of occasions to plunder and destroy.

6. **State and United States Troops.**—Both State and United States troops were called to arms at various points in the West to quell riots and to protect property. The employment of the national forces for this purpose was warmly criticised in some quarters; but both Houses of Congress have approved of the President's action by a formal vote.

7. **The Strike Failed.**—The reasons of the failure are evident. However strongly the wage earners of the country may have sympathized with the strikers in their grand object, namely, to obtain higher wages, a vast number of them did not think the strike expedient. When ordered to strike in support of it they did not obey, for in these days of business depression, they knew that their places could be quickly filled from the ranks of the unemployed.

8. **The Leader of the Movement.**—Moreover, so far as can be judged by impartial observers, they seemed not to have confidence in the discretion of the leader of the movement. As for the strikers themselves, they could only succeed by preventing the running of trains; and when the military force was employed to aid the railroads in their operation, the last chance was removed.

9. **Great Inconvenience and Loss.**—The strike is another example, of which there have been so many, of the fact that the whole community may be put to great inconvenience and loss by disputes and conflicts over which the law has assumed no jurisdiction. If a policeman sees two dogs



STRIKE IN SOUTH CHICAGO, 1894.



EUGENE V. DEBS,

The Leader of the Railway Strike in 1894.

fighting, he can part them. If two men have a feud and attempt to shoot each other, both can be arrested. If an employer tries to defraud or oppress one of his men, or if one workman tries to destroy his employer's property, the law intervenes with a strong arm. But if wrong be done on

a large scale, or by a large number of men, there is no law which authorizes the community to put a stop to it. Why is not a law of compulsory arbitration justified by the laws now in force, which shall prevent any one man who thinks he is wronged from taking the law into his own hands?

10. **The Wage Earners** of the country are strong enough in numbers to make almost any laws they see fit to make. Doubtless the time will come when they will by peaceable means have a controlling voice in national legislation. But they can never win popular support until they not only refrain from violence themselves, as most of them now do, but take the lead in preventing reckless, injudicious friends from employing force.

Preventing Strikes.

ARBITRATION LAW EFFECTIVE.

Working of the System in Massachusetts During Eight years.—Employers and Employed Find Their Interests Protected.

1. **No Complications.**—Since the board of arbitration and conciliation was established in Massachusetts, 1886-1894, neither the militia nor the police have been called upon to interfere in labor troubles. Before that organization existed there were continual appeals for their existence in preserving the peace and protecting property. Formerly the constant disputes between employers and employed over wages, hours of labor, the employment of non-union workmen and other sources of friction cost the state treasury many thousands of dollars annually, often several hundreds of thousands, for Massachusetts is the fourth manufacturing state in the Union.

2. **Money Saved.**—During the last eight years the expenditures on this account have been less than \$9,000. Last year they amounted to \$8,980, of which \$6,000 represented the salaries of three members of the board of arbitration, \$1,200 the salary of its secretary, and the remainder contingent expenses, such as railroad fare, hotel bills, stationery and printing.

3. **Costs of Strikes.**—It is impossible to ascertain and difficult to estimate the amount of money that was lost annually by the stoppage of work, owing to strikes and labor

disputes before this board was organized, but last year it settled controversies involving \$1,652,246 in the wages of men and women and \$8,637,625 in the product of their labor. In 1892 the board cost the state \$10,430, and it settled disputes involving a product valued at \$8,986,210 and wages amounting to \$2,034,804. In 1891 it cost the state \$8,108, and settled disputes involving \$12,044,525 in products and \$4,056,195 in wages. All of which shows that as a financial investment the Massachusetts plan of arbitration is a good thing.

4. **The Law.**—The first section of the law authorizes the governor to appoint "three competent persons to serve as a state board of arbitration and conciliation in the manner hereinafter provided. One of them shall be an employer or selected from some association representing employers of labor, one of them shall be selected from some labor organization and not an employer of labor, the third shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the other two." The commissions are so dated that one vacancy occurs each year, but at no time is the board without two members of experience. As a matter of fact Mr. Walcott and Mr. Barry have served continuously from the beginning. There have been three other appointments in eight years.

5. **Conditions.**—The bill declares that whenever any controversy not involving questions which may be the subject of a suit at law exists between an employer and his employes, if he employs twenty-five persons, the board shall, upon application, as soon as practicable, visit the locality and make careful inquiry into the cause, hear all persons interested, advise the parties what, if anything, ought to be done to adjust the dispute, and make a written decision. This decision shall at once be made public, recorded by the secretary of the board and a copy filed with the clerk of the city or town where the business is carried on.

6. **Assistants.**—When notice has been given as aforesaid, each of the parties to the controversy, the employer on one side and the employes interested on the other side, may in writing nominate and the board may appoint one person to act in the case as expert assistant to the board. The two persons so appointed shall be skilled in and conversant with the business or trade concerning which the dispute has arisen. It shall be their duty, under the direction of the board, to obtain and report to the board information concerning the wages paid, and the methods and grades of work prevailing in manufacturing establishments within the commonwealth of a character similar to that in which the matters in dispute have arisen. The expert assistants shall be

sworn to the faithful discharge of their duty. They shall be entitled to receive from the treasury of the commonwealth such compensation as shall be allowed and certified by the board, together with all necessary traveling expenses. Should the petitioners fail to perform the promise made in the application, the board shall proceed no further without the written consent of the adverse party.

7. Witnesses.—The board is authorized to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, records and papers, and administer oaths. Section 5 provides for the publication of the decision. Section 6 is very important, and provides that all decisions of the board shall be binding upon the parties who join in said application for six months, or until either party has given the other notice in writing of his intention not to be bound by the same at the expiration of sixty days therefrom. Said notice may be given to said employes by posting the same in three conspicuous places in the shop or factory where they work.

8. No Compulsion.—There is no penalty provided for refusing to submit to the decision of the board, nor is there any method of enforcing its decrees. Everything that points to force or compulsion seems to have been carefully omitted, and the sixth section, which provides that the decision shall be binding for only six months, seems to be a weak spot in the law.

The Right and Wrong of Strikes.

1. Complete Equality.—In any contract or business relation between the wage-laborer and the wage-payer, the two parties meet on terms of complete equality in respect to the law, to natural common rights, to the claims of respect and courtesy, to all the obligations of fair and patient consideration.

2. Class-Feeling.—This excludes on the part of the wage-laborer, jealousy, suspicion, eye-service or sham work, under the influence of class-feeling or resentment. It excludes on the part of the wage-payer, contempt, national or sectional or personal prejudice, all taking advantage from a sense of superior power or social standing, or from any traditional sentiment due to past social distinctions.

3. No Transaction is Righteous.—No transaction is righteous where the necessities, the weakness, the depend-

ence of the laborer are directly or indirectly made to reduce the price of his service below an equitable mark, or to delay payment.

4. **Effects Far Beyond the Immediate Issue.**—In cases of difference, however exasperating, a wise forecast will keep both parties in mind that every such struggle has



The Effects of Strikes.

effects far beyond the immediate issue, and that, in the present and prospective state of public feeling, any settlement brought about by sheer coercion is to be deprecated as leaving behind irritation instead of mutual good will, and the discontent of an unhealed wound instead of mutual confidence.

5. What Is a Strike?—A strike is a concerted suspension of work by wage-workers of either sex in the employ of wage-payers for an alleged non-fulfillment of a contract, or as a protest at the alleged imposition of new demands, or for the sake of obtaining some benefit declared to be deserved on account of new conditions in the line of industry pursued, or in the cost of living, or for the correction of personal offenses against wage-workers.

6. A Great Evil.—Taking into account the disturbances, the damage to related branches of business, the risk of loss, temporary at least, to one or both parties, the uncertainty of the result, and the probable provocation to ill-temper and consequent alienation, the strike must be regarded as an evil—a measure to be resorted to only in the last extremity, when all other modes of remedy of satisfaction have first been tried.

7. How to Prevent Strikes.—The primary preventive of strikes is definiteness and particularity in the original agreement of contract between the employer and the employed. The specifications could easily be made to meet ordinary cases of difference, and forestall a rupture.

8. Reduced Wages.—No strike can be justified on the ground of reduced wages where it can be proved by the board of arbitration, or otherwise, that the market value of the product of the industry is insufficient to sustain wages at the regular rate. The employer should show his books, the workman what it costs him to live, and fully explain his embarrassment in meeting present prices.

9. Needless Element.—Justice demands that, except in extreme necessity, the act which, on either side, dissolves the contract or suspends the work should not be sudden. The suddenness is a needless element in the injury. Unless there is a patent or actual outrage, notice ought to be given and an opportunity afforded for an amicable adjustment. Either party may apprehend that the other will take advantage of the notice to secure itself and damage the antagonist.

10. Serious and Needless Losses.—Serious and needless losses are suffered among workmen and their families by haste, indiscretion and assumption in exciting and ordering strikes where they are not warranted by sufficient cause. If organizations are needed to prevent this mischief, organization becomes an imperative duty. No rash indignation, no appeals to pride or class spirit, no false loyalty to an irresponsible society, will excuse a wanton waste of time and family comfort. Workingmen lose by it not only what they cannot afford to lose in their own welfare; they lose

the respect and sympathy of the wiser part of the community standing ready to befriend them.

11. **Rights of Labor.**—That any number of men in this country have a right to combine, organize and act together for the lawful promotion of their convictions or their common interests, ought by this time to be beyond dispute. If a number of men may combine to raise or keep up the price of oil, wheat or sugar, then there may be a union to raise or keep up the price of labor. An organization of workmen for that purpose is far less likely to do mischief than are the manufacturers or trafficking monopolists who overtax the many for the aggrandizement of the few. It will be likely to have in it manlier men, better characters, and a more disinterested public spirit.

12. **Politicians.**—Politicians, who have no scruples in damaging and obstructing one another's parties by all sorts of devices, are shocked when they hear, and sometimes when they only suspect, that labor men are doing the same thing. The game is bad for both of them. It takes time to convince unwilling minds, but time and experience will do it.

13. **Discharging Employees.**—Membership in an association representing a social theory, or a plan of mutual support, without any hostile purpose toward any particular institution or enterprise, is no more a justification for discharging workmen than is membership of the officers of a railroad in a political club a justification for an abandonment by the workmen of their work.

14. **Capital and Labor.**—It sounds well to say that labor cannot live without capital. In point of fact, taking capital in its technical scientific sense, there is a conceivable, and not impossible, industrial and social state where labor can live without capital independently and comfortably. It has done so, and may do so again. At any rate, capitalists know very well that without labor their capital would not, in most cases, have been created, and if created, would speedily disappear.

15. **Sharp Policy.**—We hear it offered as an excuse for a sharp policy on the part of capital that the working classes are in no danger of depression, in fact that they rather need to be kept down by the strong hand. Is it true? By a recent report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, "one-third of all the persons engaged in remunerative labor are unemployed at their principal occupation for about one-third of their working time." The average annual wages of the operatives in ninety manufacturing establishments in New England, as shown by a professor of the Massachusetts

State Agricultural College, was in 1888, \$441; of the proprietors, \$4,983. Two hundred and fifty thousand families control 75 to 80 per cent. of our national wealth, while 75 per cent. pay but 27 per cent. of taxes for the support of the government, and the owners of but a quarter of the property pay 73 per cent.

Boards of Labor Conciliation.

1. **Use of Boards of Conciliation.**—It is surprising that we, in this country, have as yet made so little use of boards of conciliation. In England they are found in many of the large trades, and, as a direct result, in many businesses strikes have become a thing of the past, and both the wage-workers and the employers are outspoken in their expressions of thankfulness for the more intelligent relations and better feelings that have ensued.

2. **Arbitration.**—Arbitration is not the same as conciliation, but may be used when conciliation has failed, or where there has been no attempt at conciliation. Arbitration is "after the fact," and implies that a cause of difference and a dispute have arisen. By arbitration this may be settled, a compromise effected and war averted; and that whether the dispute relates to past arrangements, as to what are the terms of an existing contract, the just application of those terms to a new state of things, or whether the difficulty is to agree upon future prices or conditions of labor.

3. **Conciliation.**—Conciliation aims at something higher—at doing before the fact that which arbitration accomplishes after. It seeks to prevent and remove the causes of dispute before they arise, to adjust differences and claims before they become disputes. Arbitration is limited to the larger and more general questions of industry, those of wages or prices, or those concerning a whole trade. A board of conciliation deals with matters that could not be arbitrated upon; promoting the growth of beneficial customs; interfering in the smaller details of industrial life; modifying or removing some of the worst evils incidental to modern industry, such, for example, as the truck system, or the wrongs which workmen suffer at the hands of middlemen and overseers.

4. **Formation of a Board of Conciliation.**—Of course, for the formation of a board of conciliation it is necessary that the wage-workers and (unless the board is confined but to one shop in the trade) the employers should be organized,

in order that accredited representation from both sides should find place on the board, say three representatives from each side to be appointed as may be agreed upon. Organization and combination is, however, the order of the day, and when it is understood to be essential to the highest interests of the wage-payer and wage-receiver, suspicion and jealousy on this score may be expected to disappear.

5. The Proceedings of the Board of Conciliation.—The proceedings of the board of conciliation are very informal, not like a court, but the masters and men sit round a table, the men interspersed with the masters. Each side has its secretary. The proceedings are without ceremony, and the matter is settled by what the men call a "long-jaw" discussion and explanation of views, in which the men convince the masters as often as the masters the men. Of course, this does not mean that every member of the board is always convinced, though it seems that even this is often the case, but when they are not they are content to compromise. It is in fact conciliation, and is better than the decision of a court or of an umpire. The "long-jaw" ending in an agreement, may take a longer time, but it is the true practical way out of the difficulty.

The Principles and Declarations of Organized Labor.

1. The True Standard.—To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.

2. Sufficient Leisure.—To secure for the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create; sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral and social faculties; all of the benefits, recreation, and pleasure of association; in a word to enable them to share in the gains and honors of advancing civilization.

3. Bureaus of Labor Statistics.—The establishment of Bureaus of Labor Statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral, and financial condition of the laboring masses.

4. Public Lands.—That the public lands, the heritage of the people, be reserved for actual settlers; not another acre for railroads or speculators; and that all lands now held for speculative purposes be taxed to their full value.

5. Capital and Labor.—The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capital and labor, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays, and discriminations in the administration of justice.

6. Health and Safety.—The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining and manufacturing and building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.

7. Protect Their Rights.—The recognition by incorporation of trades-unions, orders and such other associations as may be organized by the working masses to improve their condition and protect their rights.

8. To Pay Employees Weekly.—The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employees weekly, in lawful money, for the labor of the preceding week, and giving mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the extent of their full wages.

9. The Abolition of the Contract System.—The abolition of the contract system on national, state and municipal works.

10. Arbitration.—The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrator.

11. Employment of Children.—The prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years of age in workshops, mines and factories.

12. Convict Labor.—To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.

13. Income Tax.—That a graduated income tax be levied.

14. National Monetary System.—The establishment of a national monetary system, in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue direct to the people, without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private; and that the government shall not guarantee or recognize any private banks or create any banking corporations.

15. Interest Bearing Bonds.—That interest bearing bonds, bills of credit or notes shall never be issued by the government; but that, when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal tender, non-interest bearing money.

16. Foreign Labor.—That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.

17. Post Office.—That, in connection with the post office, the government shall organize financial exchanges, safe deposits, and facilities for deposit of the savings of the people in small sums.

18. Government Purchase, Telegraphs, Telephones, Railroads.—That the government shall obtain possession, by purchase under the rights of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for the construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers or freights.

And while making the foregoing demands upon the state and national government, we will endeavor to associate our own labors:

19. To Establish Co-operative Institutions.—To establish co-operative institutions such as will tend to supersede the wage system, by the introduction of a co-operative industrial system.

20. Both Sexes Equal Pay.—To secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work.

21. To Shorten the Hours of Labor.—To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours.

22. To Persuade Employers to Arbitrate.—To persuade employers to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employes, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened, and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

Labor Legislation.

ANTI-BOYCOTTING AND ANTI-BLACKLISTING LAWS.

The states having laws prohibiting boycotting in terms are Illinois and Wisconsin.

The states having laws prohibiting blacklisting in terms are Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota, Virginia and Wisconsin.

The following states have laws which may be fairly construed as prohibiting boycotting: Alabama, Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas and Vermont.



J. R. SOVEREIGN,

Grand Master of the Knights of Labor.

The following states have laws which may be fairly construed as prohibiting blacklisting: Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas and Vermont.

In New York it is a misdemeanor for any employer to exact an agreement, either written or verbal, from an employe not to join or become a member of any labor organization, as a condition of employment.

EIGHT-HOUR LAWS.

Alabama.—Eight hours of labor constitute a day's work for a woman or a child under eighteen (18) years of age in a mechanical or manufacturing business.

California.—Eight hours of labor constitute a day's work, unless it is otherwise expressly stipulated by the parties to a contract. A stipulation that eight hours of labor constitute a day's work must be made a part of all contracts to which the state or any municipal corporation therein is a party. But in the case of drivers, conductors and grip-men of street-cars for the carriage of passengers, a day's work consists of twelve hours. It is a misdemeanor for any person having a minor child under his control, either as ward or apprentice, to require such child to labor more than eight hours in any one day, except in vinicultural or horticultural pursuits, or in domestic or household occupations.

Colorado.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for all workmen employed by the state, or any county, township, school district, municipality, or incorporated town.

Connecticut.—Eight hours of labor constitute a lawful day's work unless otherwise agreed.

District of Columbia.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for all laborers or mechanics employed by or in behalf of the District of Columbia.

Idaho.—Eight hours' actual work constitute a lawful day's work on all state and municipal works.

Illinois.—Eight hours are a legal day's work in all mechanical employments, except on farms, and when otherwise agreed; does not apply to service by the day, week or month, or prevent contracts for longer hours.

Indiana.—Eight hours of labor constitute a legal day's work for all classes of mechanics, workmen and laborers, excepting those engaged in agricultural and domestic labor. Overwork by agreement and for extra compensation is permitted.

Kansas.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for all laborers, mechanics or other persons employed by or on behalf of the state or any county, city, township or other municipality.

Nebraska.—Eight hours constitute a legal day's work for all classes of mechanics, servants and laborers, except those engaged in farm or domestic labor.

New Mexico.—Eight hours of labor actually performed upon a mining claim constitute a day's work, the value of the same being fixed at four dollars.

New Jersey.—Eight hours constitute a day's labor on any day whereon any general or municipal election shall be held.

New York.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for mechanics, workmen and laborers, except in farm or domestic labor, but overwork for extra pay is permitted.

The law applies to those employed by the state or municipality, or by persons contracting for state work.

Ohio.—Eight hours shall constitute a day's work in all engagements to labor in any mechanical, manufacturing or mining business, unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. But in case of conductors, engineers, firemen or trainmen of railroads, a day's work consists of ten hours.

Pennsylvania.—Eight hours, between rising and setting of sun, constitute a day's work in the absence of an agreement for longer time. The law does not apply to farm labor or to service by the year, month, etc.; but in case of employes of street railroads a day's work consists of twelve hours.

Utah.—Eight hours constitute a day's work upon all public works.

Wisconsin.—In all engagements to labor in any manufacturing or mechanical business, where there is no express contract to the contrary, a day's work shall consist of eight hours; but the law does not apply to contracts for labor by the week, month or year. In all manufactories, workshops or other places used for mechanical or manufacturing purposes, the time of labor of children under the age of eighteen, and of women employed therein, shall not exceed eight hours in the day.

Wyoming.—Eight hour's actual work constitute a legal day's work in all mines and public works.

United States.—Eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all laborers, workmen and mechanics who may be employed by or on behalf of the United States.

Competition That Kills.

1. **Cloakmakers.**—The cloakmakers who lately went on strike in New York had been forced to work under most unhealthy conditions from twelve to sixteen and even eighteen hours a day, and often seven days in a week, to make a bare living. They earned from \$7 to \$10 weekly; and as they were often out of work, \$5 a week may have been a fair average for their wages the year around.

2. **"Sweating" Dens.**—In Philadelphia there are even more "sweating" dens for clothing-makers than in New York. A Philadelphia minister states that there are six hundred of these dens to the square mile in which his church stands.

3. Ill-fed, Unwashed.—The same witness describes the workers as ill-fed, unwashed, half-clad, their hands damp with slow consumption. The children work as soon as they can draw a thread, and as the factory age in the state is thirteen, even those who cannot speak plainly will say "thirteen" mechanically when asked their age.

4. Small Employers.—It is also well known that when one of the small employers was urged to repair his roof in order to save his employes from exposure and disease, he replied: "Men are cheaper than shingles; no sooner does one drop out than a dozen are ready to take his place."

5. Is There No Remedy?—These are illustrative facts. They indicate, but do not describe, a widely prevailing condition.

Is there no remedy? Is the law of competition not capable of being controlled in the interest of public health, decency, and well-being? Must we continue to welcome the weaklings of other nations, who here fight with each other to obtain even the unwholesome task-slavery of the sweat-shop?

Emancipated Labor.

1. Man's First Appearance.—In the long history of our planet, since man's first appearance upon it, the era which we call antiquity seems little more than of yesterday; while the distance between the denizen of the ancient and the citizen of the modern world, as far as institutions, like those of government, literature and art are concerned, is in many ways insignificant. Yet when we consider the workman of antiquity, and compare him with the toiler of our own time, the two seem to be separated by an immense interval.

2. Serfdom.—The industrial arrangements of the ancient civilizations were all based on the serfdom that sprang from war. For when men reached the agricultural stage, they no longer killed captives taken in battle, but employed them in the tilling of the ground, and later in the construction of public works.

3. Knew Nothing of Free Labor.—Empires like those of China, Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome knew nothing of free labor, in the modern meaning of that term. It was slaves who built the Great Wall of China, slaves who reared the Pyramids, slaves who erected the classic monuments still visible in the peninsulas of the Mediterranean, and slaves again who scattered all over England the memorials of the Roman invasion.

4. **Slavery of Labor.**—Nor did the slavery of labor belong only to the ancient world. The same spirit of militarism that entrenched the institution there perpetuated it through the middle ages, down to a comparatively modern period. It lingered long in Germany and England and showed signs of breaking up only with the decay of the feudal system, with the rise of the towns, the development of the burgher class, and the formation of trades guilds. By the end of the fourteenth century serfdom became practically extinct in western Europe, and with its extirpation the laboring classes began to recover from the effects of their long enchainment.

5. **Modern Industrialism.**—It is true that the rise of the modern industrialism at the opening of the eighteenth century led to many abuses and hardships, yet efforts were sooner or later made to remedy them by process of law, and the same English legislature which set out by endeavoring to fix the wages of working people ended by passing enactments for their protection.

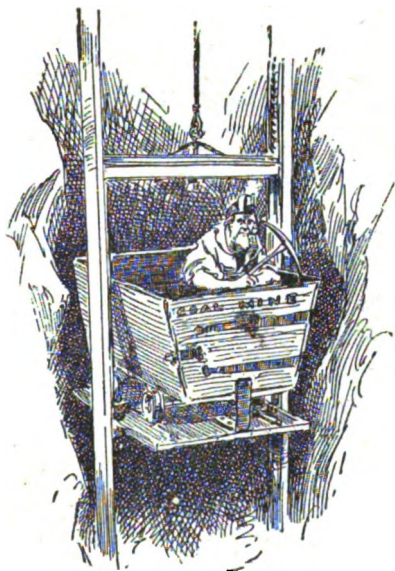
6. **Protective Legislation.**—To-day this protective legislation is of wide-reaching import. It restricts hours of labor, prohibits the employment of young children, provides holidays, compels the employer to fence in dangerous machinery, enables a workman to sue for damages, and permits those combinations of laborers which were once forbidden and punished as crimes.

7. **Improvement of the Conditions of Labor.**—Step by step with this improvement of the conditions of labor has gone an important amelioration of the political status of the workingman. Absolute power has been modified and militarism everywhere weakened by industrialism. The rights of the old feudal lords have largely passed to the land owners and later to the capitalists, who may be regarded as their successors, while in European countries some of the power of the upper classes was transferred to the middle classes.

8. **Abolition of Serfdom.**—But the chief and latest product of the movement that began with the abolition of serfdom has been the gradual extension of political power to the whole body of the people, so that the workman who formerly "did not own himself" now not only enjoys the protection of the law, but himself has a share in the work and the responsibilities of government.

9. **Fairer and More Equal Chance.**—The net result of this advance of labor—improvement of its conditions on the one hand, and the conferring upon it of rights and privileges on the other—has been to secure to workingmen a fairer

and more equal chance in the struggle of life than they ever enjoyed before. And though the upward movement is by no means ended, it has already gone far enough to teach the lesson that no difficulties are henceforth likely to arise between capital and labor, which fairness, business sagacity and the spirit of compromise may not triumphantly overcome.



The Coal Miner's Lot.



**GEN. NEAL DOW, of Maine,
Author of the Maine Temperance Law.**

Intemperance.

1. Importance of Question.—One of the greatest and most important questions before the American people, and one which more widely concerns the interests of the laboring classes than any other, is the temperance question.

2. Blighting Curse of Labor.—The fact that intemperance is the blighting curse of labor, and one of the deadliest foes of the workingmen of this country is impressing itself more and more upon the minds of labor organizations and their leaders. It is among the poor, the laboring classes, that intemperance does its most destructive work.

3. Strength of the Saloon.—The hold that the saloon has upon the laboring classes is realized only when we attempt to estimate the proportion of their earnings that the saloon receives. Then again, rich men have their social clubs, but especially in our large cities is it true that the saloon attempts to provide for social gatherings. In this way thousands are misled.

4. Saloon in Politics.—What makes it all the more powerful is that very frequently the saloon controls politics. Political parties must at least be silent on the temperance question, or else they will lose the vote of the laboring classes. In many cases the saloon dictates the platforms and candidates.

5. Economic Aspects.—Viewing it only as to its economic aspects it towers above every other question. The magnitude of the liquor traffic is immense and the cost is paid not by the millionaire but by the industrial classes.

6. Estimates of Cost.—It is estimated that the direct cost of the drink traffic for 1890 was \$765,000,000. Besides this the indirect losses from drink through loss of work by hard drinkers, poor workmanship of drinking classes, death of drunkards, and the poverty and crime induced by drink for the same year reach \$453,000,000. This makes a total loss of \$1,218,000,000 in one year to the country because of strong drink. Whether it is a sound financial policy to encourage or even to permit a positive loss of nearly one and one-quarter billions of dollars to the people in order that the government may gain a revenue of \$137,263,974, the revenue for 1890, is a question easily answered.

7. The Moral Aspect—The moral aspect cannot be reckoned in dollars and cents, but a study of the question will demonstrate the fact that the financial ruin that it brings upon the nation is slight compared to the demoralization and utter ruin of noble manhood.

8. Universally Recognized Evil.—That the drink traffic is universally recognized as an evil is a fact, but the many different plans, ideas, and opinions of men as to how to remove the evil has prevented a united effort on the part of the better element of society, and has thwarted much of the work that has been done, and hindered the progress of the work in general.

9. **The W. C. T. U.**—Among all the agencies at work to suppress the drink traffic none is more widely known and none has had such an influence in bringing to public notice the evils thereof and in awakening the conscience of the American citizen as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

10. **Organization, Methods and Scope.**—It was organized in 1874. Its methods are preventive, educational, evangelistic, social and legal. With its forty departments it has widened its scope until there is no wrong against which it has not lifted up its voice, nor good with which it is not allied. The importance of the organization prompts us to give an outline of the work of a few of its many departments.

11. **Preventive.**—This Department aims to extend the reverent study of God's health decalogue, with a view to best methods of daily living, and by wise and careful words to teach the power and force of Heredity in races and individuals, and its relation to healthy and diseased conditions, through Heredity institutes, the circulation of literature and addresses by lady physicians, especially to mothers.

12. **Scientific Temperance Instruction.**—This Department aims to secure such legislation, local and state, as shall make the study and teaching of the laws of health, with special reference to the effect of stimulants and narcotics upon the human body, obligatory throughout the entire system of public education, and to secure active personal sympathy and co-operation in temperance work, on the part of the college students of the land. Its plans include addresses, leaflets, open letters, circulation of literature, and organization wherever practicable.

That it has succeeded is clearly and forcibly shown by the accompanying map.

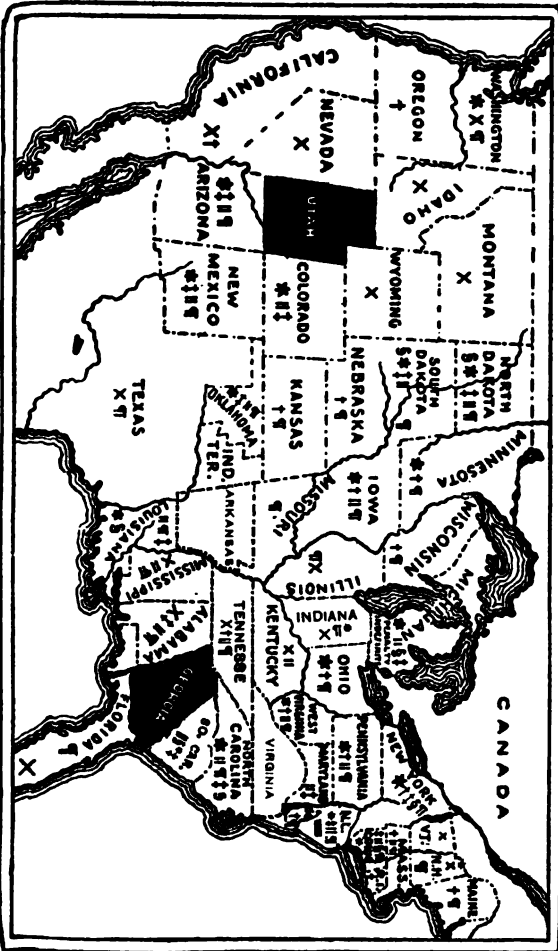
13. **The Press.**—This department aims to provide the press, both religious and secular, with the latest and most important news concerning the Woman's Christian Temperance Union work in every department.

14. **Narcotics.**—The aim of this department is to educate the people in regard to the effects of tobacco, opium and other narcotics upon the body and the brain, with a view to the extermination of the habit of using and of the traffic in the same. Also to secure laws governing the sale of Narcotics.

15. **Penal and Reformatory.**—This Department aims to carry Gospel Temperance to the inmates of prisons and jails; to co-operate in the work of Prisoners' Aid Associations; to aid in establishing Women's Reformatory Prisons and Industrial Homes for the criminal classes; to secure

TEMPERANCE EDUCATION MAP OF THE UNITED STATES AND TERRITORIES.

States in White have a Temperance Education Law. Those in Black have NONE.



X Study mandatory. * Penalty attached to law. † Required of all pupils. ‡ Text book required. || Study to be taught in same manner and as thoroughly as other branches. § Text books on topic must give one-fourth space to temperance. ¶ Examination on subject required of teachers. ||| Text books must give full and adequate space to temperance matters.

the appointment of women on State Boards of Charities and the maintenance of matrons in all prisons and police stations where women are arrested or imprisoned.

16. Purity.—This department aims to exhibit the relations existing between the drink habit and the nameless habits, outrages and crimes which disgrace modern civilization; and especially to point out the brutalizing influence of malt liquors upon the social nature.

It seeks to establish a single code of morals, and to maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women. It has in view a distinct effort to impress upon the minds of men and women, youth and maidens, the absolute demands of religion and physiology for purity in thought, word and deed.

It will endeavor to secure legislation of a character calculated to protect the honor and purity of the young, and defend women and girls from the depravity of brutal men.

17. Legal.—This department aims to secure prohibition by constitutional and statutory law in every state and territory, and to secure a prohibitory amendment to the National Constitution. Methods are varied, as the manifold work of the W. C. T. U. As all roads once led to Rome, so every purpose and plan points to the consummation defined under this all-embracing "aim."

18. Christian Citizenship.—

Object.—To study the science of government and the rights and duties of citizens, to educate and influence voters, to combat the evils of organized society at the caucus, convention and ballot-box.

Standpoint.—This is Christian. *Christian* principles and ethical standards must be introduced and maintained in all the social and political relations of mankind.

19. Temperance Temple.—

The meetings of the Chicago W. C. T. U. were held in the old Farwell hall until it was set apart exclusively for young men. Through the untiring energy and zeal of the president of the Chicago Union, Matilda B. Carse, an immense office building known as The Temple has been erected at a cost of \$1,265,000. Friends of the W. C. T. U. throughout the wide world are paying for this building. Its yearly income from rental of offices when fully paid for will be over \$200,000, all of which is to be used in carrying on the temperance work. Every day at noon a meeting is held in Willard Hall, in this building, that results in the rescuing of many from a drunkard's grave. This Temple is known everywhere as the national building of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.



THE TEMPLE.

20. *The Keeley Cure.*—In recent years the Keeley cure has become very prominent in temperance work. Many who were being ruined by strong drink have through this remedy been restored to manhood and give promise of useful citizenship. It is best to keep from falling, but to those over whom the drink habit has control, this cure comes as a blessed boon. The principal establishment is at Dwight, Ill.

21. *Other Organizations.*—There are other numerous organizations that are doing effective temperance work. The churches and auxiliary societies are creating a sentiment that will make itself felt. The Prohibition party has by its determined defense of what it believes to be the dominant issue in politics done much to awaken the citizen to a realization of the danger ahead and his duty in the matter.

22. *The One Thing Needful.*—There is a sufficient number of loyal, patriotic, and wide awake citizens to banish the drink traffic from the land. These may see the great evil of the traffic, but are still at variance as to the treatment to be given to it. When all Christian, patriotic, and liberty-loving American citizens stand united, the greatest enemy of the toiling masses, the greatest foe of our nation, the greatest hindrance to prosperity will speedily be removed from the land.

The Problem of the American Tramp.

1. **Honest Laboring Men.**—Any one whose memory reaches back a score of years can well remember that the first tramps were honest laboring men seeking employment. Men driven from home and the restraint of home life, and thrown into contact with others of their class with nothing to do, could not long remain innocent; smarting under an indefinable sense of wrong done them by society, soon becoming objects of suspicion, they naturally became more or less criminals.

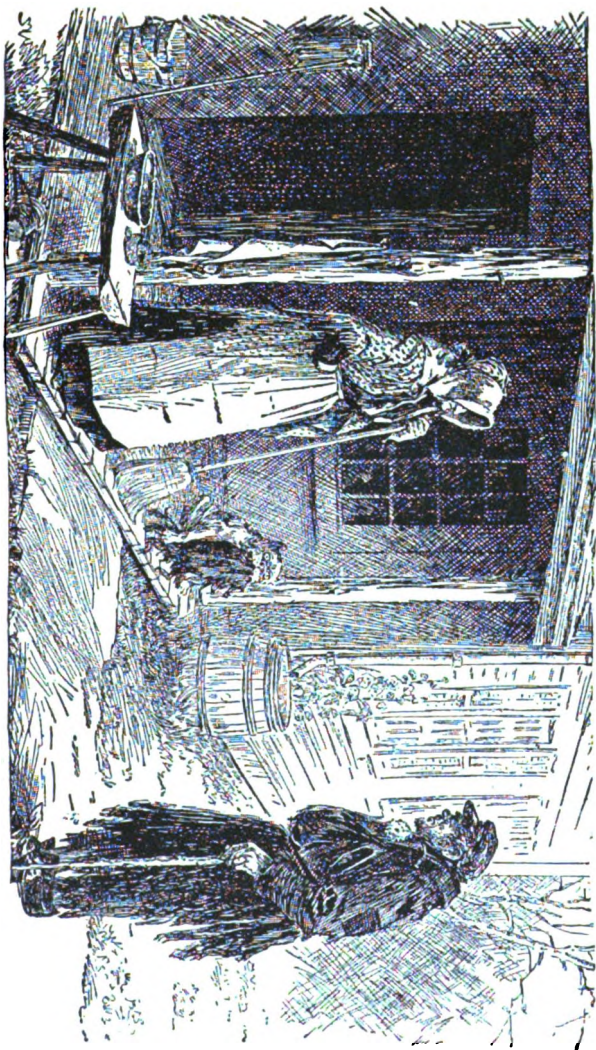
2. **The Terrible Tramp.**—Find fault as we may, the terrible tramp is upon us; he has tramped out, and goes on tramping out the sense of security enjoyed by dwellers in town and country alike. He has well nigh tramped out that beautiful hospitality once habitual with us, so that we dare not use hospitality to strangers, and so fail of the privilege of "sometimes entertaining angels unawares," and of obeying the Scriptures' injunction. His heavy footfall has well nigh smothered out our love for men as men, and I fear, has seriously impaired our love for their Creator. "If a man love not his brother whom he has seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" If history, as it is wont to do, repeats itself in our case, our posterity may find that the tramp has changed the whole aspect and customs of our country.

3. **Drunkenness.**—Drunkenness is a tramp-producing vice. Few of the men who are to-day tramping the country for bread and shelter no doubt found plenty of employment and friends when they were sober and honestly sought work. But when they began to drink they went rapidly down from bad to worse until they were forced from community to community in search of employment among those who knew not of their vices, but their appearance and character soon condemned them and they were doomed to become outcasts.

4. **Crime.**—There is but one step from drunkenness to crime and many of those who are tramping to-day have been guilty of some lesser or greater crime and in seeking to escape the penalties of the law they have become habitual tramps unknown and unknowable.

5. **Remedy.**—The first thing in restoring the reign of justice and to help the helpless and to protect the innocent is to break down the terrible power of strong drinks. With the intellect sobered and the hands steadied a man may soon be able to see plainly for himself and make provisions for his own prosperity. A clear head and a strong

THE PROFESSIONAL TRAMP BEGGING FOR A BREAKFAST.



arm is all that is necessary to make life a success. Wipe out the saloons and you will destroy one of the most fruitful sources of the present tramp nuisance.

6. Mistaken Ideas.—It must be remembered that every man who is traveling over the country in search of employment is not a tramp; many of them are honestly seeking employment, this has been demonstrated repeatedly and every man deserves respect until by some work or act he has proved himself unworthy.



HOMELESS, BUT WILLING TO WORK.

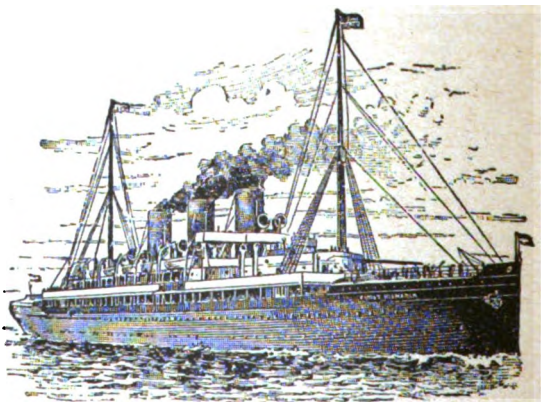
The author and compiler of this work was once a boy tramp. He tramped the country with all his worldly possessions under his arm in search of employment, but when employment was found he faithfully served one employer, six years at hard farm labor. If a sober-looking fellow with an honest-looking face comes along and you need help give him a fair trial. The writer found one of the best and most faithful of men by giving breakfast to a hungry man and then set him to work. Be charitable and thank God that your lot is not that of a poor man out of employment.



THE TRAMP WHO HAD TO EARN HIS MEAL.

7. **The Great Problem.**—What shall be done with the tramp who will not work, who is not seeking to better his present condition, but has drifted into this habit of a tramp simply because he does not care to be anything else? is the great problem staring the people of this country in the face. Laws have been enacted by different municipal corporations to work the tramps upon the streets; imprisonment and other punishments have been tried, but yet the tramp nuisance increases, it is growing instead of becoming less. There is not a scarcity of work, but the difficulty lies in a proper adjustment between labor and capital. It is no doubt true that the present revenues lost to the legitimate business of the country by the manufacturing sale of liquor would feed and clothe and give employment to every man willing to work.

8. **The Best Remedy.**—Never feed a tramp unless you first have him earn his meal. It is an education that has a good effect upon a hungry stomach and it is a proper time to impress a good wholesome lesson. If you have nothing to do buy a cord of wood and keep it in readiness for the hungry tramp. Thirty minutes' work will fully demonstrate his worthiness for charity. By enforcing this rule—no work no meal—you will soon cease to be annoyed by the professional tramp.



ON A COMMERCIAL TRIP.

Industrial Armies.

1. **Coxeyites.**—Compared with a great, definite, grim struggle like the strike of the miners for honest treatment and for the restoration of the irreducible minimum of living wages, the numerous bands of adventurers known as "industrial armies" or "Coxeyites" are but the by-play of the social movement. They lie merely upon the surface of the situation, and indicate nothing in particular excepting a considerable amount of unrest and uneasiness in the world of labor. They are very different from the marching mobs of half-starved men who sometimes parade in London demanding work or bread.

2. **American Love of Adventure.**—The largest ingredient in the great mixture of impulses to which this fantastic industrial army movement is due is the American love of adventure, excitement and change. There has been no indication of crushed spirits, sullen despair or hopeless misery. On the contrary, the most flourishing of these armies have exhibited some of the same buoyant mood that leads men to flock to new mining camps or to march in political parades. A nation that has grown as rapidly as ours, and that has shown so marvelous a mobility in the tidal ebbs and flows of its population, has always to reckon upon a considerable element of men who lack the sense of attachment to locality, and who find change and adventure essential to their happiness. A great number of these roving spirits have found their way to remote parts of the West, and have engaged transiently in mining and various other pursuits.

3. **Cause of Coxeyism.**—The temporary paralysis that has overtaken the industries of the West has revived the migratory instinct in many hundreds of these men of slight local attachment and of no domestic impediments. Consequently they rally readily enough around the banner of a "General" Frye, or a "General" Kelly, or any one of 20 other "generals," and are more than willing to try the adventure of a march on Washington. Their disposition to steal rides on freight trains, and even to steal the trains themselves, has certainly been reprehensible, yet it is only fair to distinguish between their lawless conduct and that of out-and-out criminals and highway robbers.

4. **The Social Phenomena.**—The social phenomena of the depressed periods that follow money panics and industrial crises in the United States are worth studying. Levity on a vast scale is always sure to assert itself. After all, the key to an understanding of American life is to be found in our American kindliness and sense of humor. While very

many earnest gentlemen with knitted brows are endeavoring to fathom the deep significance that underlies "Coxeyism," and the simultaneous desire of numerous companies of American citizens to proceed to Washington with petitions for "good roads," and schemes for paper-money millenniums, it may seem like scandalous trifling to declare that the whole movement is essentially a light-hearted one, yet such is the truth.

5. **Well-Meaning Fellows.**—For the most part the various "armies" have been composed of well-meaning fellows who have not a bit either of dangerous malevolence or of lofty social idealism in their hearts or minds, and who have no more affiliation with blood-thirsty anarchists than have the children of a Philadelphia Sunday-school. It is true that an element of good-for-nothing tramps has infested the armies to some extent, but this class has not been predominant.

6. **A Lack of Work.**—We have in the past six months been face to face with most serious problems presented by a lack of work for hundreds of thousands in our great cities; and within a few weeks we have witnessed in different parts of the country some frightful scenes of disorder in connection with bitterly contested strikes. These have been the serious features of the year's industrial depression. The Coxey march and other kindred diversions have, on the contrary, helped to relieve the strain and to maintain the national cheerfulness.

7. **The Lawless Spirit.**—It is true that we ought to view with great solemnity and alarm the lawless spirit shown by companies of men who have dodged the deputy marshals, police, squads and cavalry detachments, while speeding across the country on railroad trains borrowed without consent of the owners. Yet to be perfectly frank and truthful, we must confess that almost everybody has looked on with more amusement than solemnity. When the business revival comes and work is plenty the temptation to steal rides and go to Washington in advocacy of Mr. Coxey's good roads bill and other theoretical propositions will vanish as by magic.

8. **Treatment.**—It is worth while to note the fact that the "armies" have been treated with almost universal kindness by the people along their routes of travel; and apart from their evil propensity for stolen rides, the banded adventurers have done no harm worth mentioning. It has been a great mistake to denounce them as if they were bands of criminals or anything else than what they are, namely, bodies of American pilgrims bound on a merely

COXEY'S ARMY ON ITS MARCH TO WASHINGTON.



fantastic and adventurous journey, under the leadership of ill-informed and visionary men whose energy and capacity for organization happen to find an outlet in this plan of a march to Washington. The Kelley army has been much more interesting than Coxey's, and the tale of its journey on flatboats down the Des Moines river from the capital of Iowa makes a really romantic chapter, and one worth the attention of any student of practical social conditions. General Kelley's performance, however, like General Coxey's, is appropos of nothing in particular. It is merely a fresh evidence of the elasticity of the American spirit.

Causes and Effects of Trusts.

1. **Original Meaning.**—Trust, in its original meaning, is a good word and means a good thing, but it has got into bad company. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that there is a party of well-born and well-bred words which are sowing wild oats, and which there is every reason to fear will go to the bad. The other prominent members of the company are the words "combine" and "deal;" but "trust" is the ringleader.

2. **What Is a Trust?**—Let us define it as a corporation of corporations, or a corporation of the second degree. A corporation is an artificial person. It is a creation of the law. It has some of the civil rights of individual citizens, and is subject to a corresponding degree of obligation. The corporation may sue and be sued; it is entitled to the protection of its property; it is required to pay taxes. Whereas a man has certain natural rights, a corporation has those only which are conferred by the Legislature.

3. **Our Grandfathers.**—Our grandfathers watched the beginning and the growth of corporate wealth and power with extreme jealousy. More than one state political convention in the first half of this century declared its opposition to the chartering of any corporation for business purposes. The "trust" is an extension of the principle of the corporation. But it does not follow that, because some of the early objections to corporations were unreasonable, therefore the hostility to trusts will be found to have been based on prejudice and passion.

4. **Without the Permission of the State.**—A trust is a combination of corporations, banded together under one management for the purpose of controlling the manufacture

COMPETITION IS DEAD



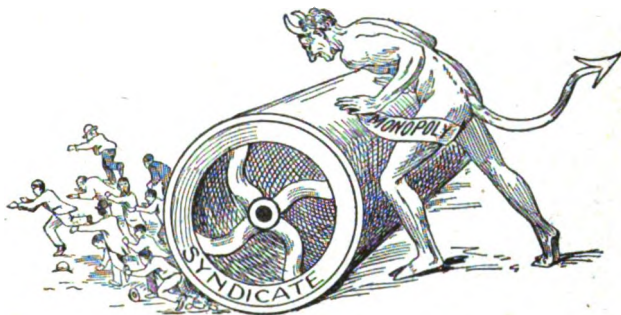
of or trade in some article of extensive use. Usually it is not chartered, that is, it is not a corporation in the ordinary sense of the word, but is a voluntary association, which keeps secret its organization, its doings and its profits. Thus it may be, and in some cases is, an "artificial person" which exists without the permission of the state.

5. **The Chief Objection.**—The chief objection to the trust is that a practical monopoly may be created. In fact, if a monopoly is not established the purpose of organizing the trust fails of accomplishment. For example—to take an illustration from a trade in which there is no trust—there are 1,200 or more corporations, firms and persons in this country engaged in the cotton manufacture. Some of the corporations are huge affairs. One in New Hampshire is the greatest in the world which is engaged in this trade. No harm results from the existence of these great corporations because, being scattered over the country and having diverse interests, they compete with each other. But if they were all to combine they would control the labor of spinners and weavers, they would regulate production in such a way as to maintain prices at a surely profitable level, and in various other ways would deprive the community of the advantages of competition.

6. **Concentrating Great Capital.**—Moreover, there is a strong feeling in the minds of many people who are by no means infected with socialistic views that discouragement and not encouragement should be given to the practice of concentrating great capital, and consequently great power, in the hands of a few men, officers and managers of such aggregates of corporations.

7. **Grander Scale.**—These are the reasons urged against sanctioning trusts. There is something to be said in their favor, namely, that they make industrial developments possible, on a grander scale than ever. But not many men hold that this advantage counterbalances the necessary evils; and no person, at least no one who desires political preferment, ventures to say even as much as that in their favor.

8. **High Protection.**—It is no doubt true that the system of high protective tariff has a tendency to produce trusts. Trusts are nothing more nor less than schemes to rob the consumer. The poor simply are compelled to contribute to the wealth and support of the privileged and protected classes of manufacturers.



The Effects of Monopoly.

Shall the Government Own the Railroads?

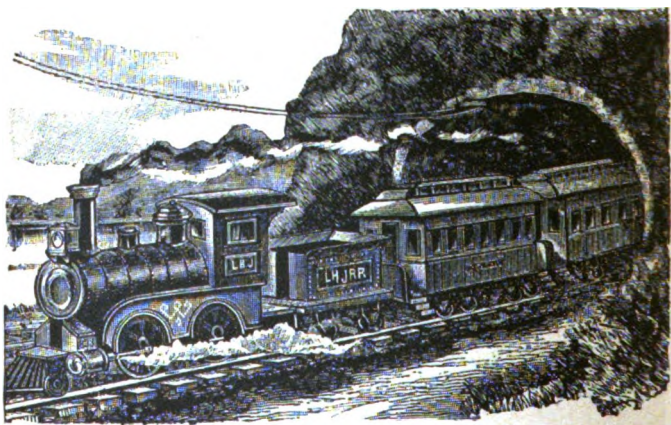
1. This question is considerably agitated and various opinions are held, and there are many strong points on both sides.

2. **Agitation for Government Ownership.**—The agitation for government ownership for railroads has always been, in this country, more active and general. The demand has recently been repeatedly made by the national state conventions of the Populist party. There are now representing that party in Congress thirteen senators and representatives. There are many people also outside of this organization that would like to see the government own and control all the railroads of the country.

3. **A Surprising Fact.**—It is a surprising fact that in most countries of the world that states own and operate their own railroads. Great Britain, United States and Spain, Switzerland and Turkey are the only countries where railroads are not owned and operated by the government. Railroads in all the other countries are owned, controlled and operated by the government. In countries where the government owns the railroads, it is claimed they have not as good accommodations for the public as where they are owned by private corporations, as government ownership destroys all competition. In answer to this we say that our mail system is the best in the world, and it is entirely beyond competition, as it is exclusively a government enterprise.

4. **Private Enterprises.**—It is admitted on all hands that railroads are not purely private enterprises. The companies which own them have received valuable privileges from the public—the right to buy land whether the owner did or did not wish to sell, the right to cross highways, and a certain monopoly of the public travel. States, counties and cities have burdened themselves with debt in order to provide themselves with railroad communication.

5. **Great Britain.**—Great Britain differs from its own colonies in this regard, for in nearly all of the British dependencies the governments own the railways. But in every country—even in England and the United States, where the railroads are freest from public control—is the principle fully admitted that the government may decide what is for the interest of the public, and may require the railroad corporations to conform thereto.



The Great Tunnel.

6. **How Much Control?**—Since, then, government may, must and does assume some control of the railways, the only question left is, How much control? When our legislators come to answer this question they are confronted with the fact that they cannot, if they would, do what the lawmakers of France or Germany do.

7. **Confusion to Our Home Commerce.**—It is agreed that only confusion would result to our home commerce from the ownership of the railroads by the separate states. Has Congress power to buy them up? If it has the power could the government safely assume the cost of purchasing them? They were capitalized at the latest estimate at over ten billions of dollars.

8. **Individual Enterprise.**—It is urged by the advocates of private ownership that this system not only is the sole system that is adapted to our political and social principles, which leave individual enterprise as free as possible from government control, but that it has, both in the United States and England, resulted in a more convenient, ample, cheap and expeditious service of the public than is usual in countries where railroads are owned or operated by the state.

9. **Competition.**—They urge that those who have to compete for the business of the people will, from self-interest, do all they can to serve the people well, and they maintain that pooling arrangement and trusts which might neutralize this competition are already prevented by legislation, even to the extent of making their business unprofitable. They also urge the great political danger of adding the vast army of railway employes, who numbered eight hundred and seventy-three thousand in 1893, to the civil service of the government.

These are the two sides of the question. It is a very large question, incapable of settlement in any brief or summary way; it involves a great number of practical and commercial considerations, as well as considerations of government and statesmanship.

Right of Government to Control Railways.

1. **The Constitution.**—When the Constitution gave to Congress the exclusive power of regulating commerce between the states, the stage-coach, the road-wagon and water-craft were the only vehicles used in carrying on traffic between the citizens of one state and those of another.

2. **First Assertion of Authority.**—Many years after railways had replaced the stage-coach the government began its first assertion of authority over these steam high-

ways. That assumption of authority was made necessary by the wide development of the railway postal service, and also by the use of some of the railways as military highways. These were roads which had received land grants and other government aid.

3. Examples of the Extension of the Power.—Our national history is full of examples of the extension of the power of the general government in ways which the framers of the Constitution could not have foreseen. Robert Fulton's assumption of the monopoly of the Hudson river for his steamboats was followed by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, giving to the government exclusive control of all navigable waters. Thus it was that our great rivers and lakes became free water highways, subject only to the laws of the United States.

4. Discriminating Taxes.—The refusal of a commercial traveler to pay a license demanded by the authorities of one of the southern cities brought forth after long litigation, an opinion from the Supreme Court which put an end to all attempts by the citizens of one state to make discriminating taxes against those of another state.

5. Authority Enlarged.—In many other cases decided by the Supreme Court the authority of the nation has been seemingly enlarged, although the judges have frequently asserted that there is no power in the courts to enlarge the powers of the government. The Supreme Court can only determine with precision those powers.

6. Pullman Strike.—It is under decisions of the United States judges that the government in the Pullman strike asserted its authority to call out Federal troops thereby to prevent interruptions to the commerce between the states, which is carried on mainly by the railway companies.

7. Powers of the Constitution.—Of course the powers of the Constitution could have had no specific purpose of giving the government such authority, since the first steam railway was not operated in the United States until nearly forty years after the Constitution was adopted. But the authority is a necessary one for the supreme government to exercise in the interest of the people, and it is inferred logically from the language of the Constitution.

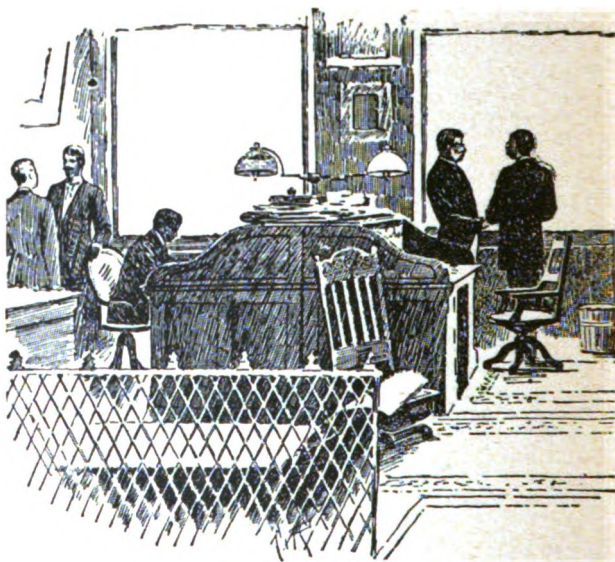
8. Right to Control Railways.—The assertion of a right to control railways, which was the justification of the Interstate Commerce act, carries with it the idea that such lines of communication are essential to the public convenience, and, therefore, implies a duty to protect the roads themselves, if not the corporations which own them.

9. **Treason.**—Hence, the intimation by the President is well sustained, that those who so obstruct railways as to paralyze commerce between the states, are public enemies. And the short name of the offense of citizens who become public enemies is treason.

10. **Civil Service.**—The central authority now has control over more than 100,000 employes in the civil service. To increase that number by adding nearly a million servants might correct evils in railway management at the expense of the government itself. Moreover, if the government took charge of the railways it would hereby be compelled to bring the telegraph and express service under its control. That is a consummation which some men earnestly desire, but it is also one to which many far-seeing men look forward with sincere and deep solicitude.



HON. THOS. F. BAYARD,
Ambassador to England under Cleveland.



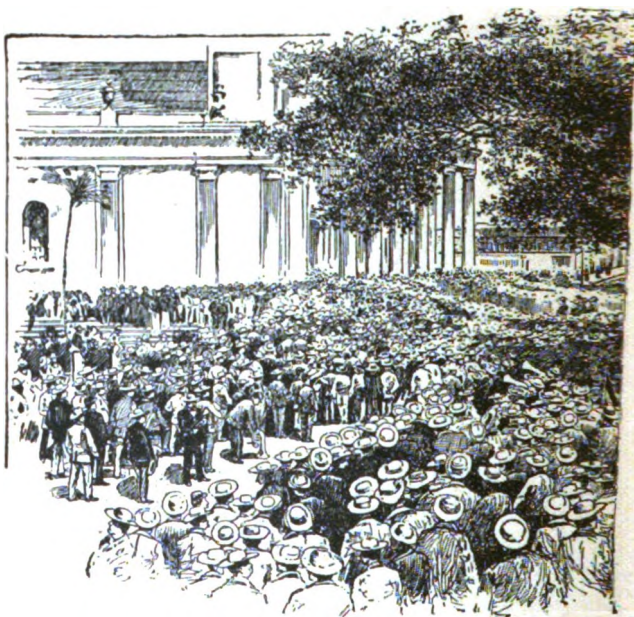
Revenue Collector's Office.

The Principles of Protection.

Protection, in relation to the industries of a country (in which sense the word is generally used), means the prevention of ruinous foreign competition. This may be accomplished (1) by absolutely prohibiting the importation of certain articles; (2) by levying a duty on them that is practically prohibitive; (3) by granting premiums on certain exports; (4) by granting drawbacks, which are rebates of the whole, or nearly the whole, duty that has been paid on imported materials when these have been manufactured at home and exported; or (5) by so arranging the rates of duty on importations as to make their cost to the consumer equal to or greater than the cost of similar domestic products. The first three methods are not relied upon in this country for purposes of protection, while the last two have been and are still extensively used. The last method is the more

prominent, and around it the arguments for and against protection group themselves. The reasoning of the protectionists is long and complicated. A few of their more important propositions may be briefly stated, as follows: the United States as a nation is bound to secure advantages for its own citizens before regarding other countries; protective duties compel foreigners to pay part of our taxes; without protection we should become chiefly an agricultural country, and such countries are comparatively poor and weak; diversified industries are called into being or strengthened by a protective tariff, and these are valuable to a nation in time of peace and necessary in time of war; the destructions of protection would mean that the labor of this country would have to compete with the cheaper labor (usually called "pauper labor") abroad; wages would fall, and the American laborer would be reduced to the low level of life common to laborers abroad; the investment of capital at home is encouraged by protection, and on this the working classes depend; even if protection were a questionable policy to inaugurate, now that it is established in this country it should be continued, for the sake of justice to invested capital and to prevent the financial disasters that would result from a revolution in our industries. To the arguments of the free-traders they reply that governments have very generally found it necessary or advisable to regulate to some extent the trade of their citizens or subjects; that protection benefits the whole nation, not merely a part, by keeping up the price of labor; that no free-trade argument can be drawn from inter-state commerce, since the localizing of industries can do no harm when all the localities are parts of a single whole; that competition between home industries will keep prices down to a fair point. Since the Civil war the Republican party had been practically a unit in supporting a protective tariff. Before that period members of both parties were found on each side of the line. The tariff has never been the main issue in a presidential election, though in 1880 and 1884 the Republicans strove to increase its importance.





A Political Gathering Listening to Tariff Speeches.

The Principles of Free Trade.

Free trade is the doctrine of political economy maintained by those who hold that trade should be unrestricted by governmental regulations or interference. The term is generally used with reference to governmental exactions on importations. Theoretically free traders hold that our commerce with other nations should be as unrestricted as commerce between the various states of the Union, but practically they admit that duties on imports are a convenient way of raising a revenue; so that as the term is generally used in this country, a free trader is one who believes in so regulating the tariff as to raise the necessary revenue with the least restrictions on foreign commerce and with

absolutely no attempt to protect home industries. He believes strictly in a tariff for revenue only, or a fiscal tariff, as it is sometimes called. A brief outline of some of the most important propositions on which the free trade argument rests may be given as follows: Every man has a natural right to buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest; all attempts to check this right on the part of the government result, sooner or later, in an artificial commercial condition and consequent financial disaster; labor, production, manufacture and commerce, being governed by natural laws, will regulate themselves best if not interfered with; a nation should devote itself to industries which are natural to it; to attempt to force others to growth is an artificial stimulus and a waste of energy; if other nations can produce articles cheaper than we can, it is an unnecessary national extravagance to waste, in making them at home, strength that could more profitably be devoted to other pursuits. Protection benefits only a minority of the nation at the expense of the large majority. The advantages which have resulted from free trade between the several states of the Union prove that similar advantages would follow from free trade with foreign nations. In answer to some of the arguments of the protectionists, free traders say that it is ridiculous and untrue to insist that protective duties compel foreigners to pay part of our taxes; that diversified industries are proven by history not to be necessary for a nation, since with wealth all things can be purchased in these days, and the nation will gain wealth more rapidly if it devotes itself to natural pursuits and avoids wasting its energy in unnatural ones; that high wages in the United States are due to our natural advantages, not to protection; that, in any case, with free trade the workman's necessities would cost much less and his wages would go as far as before; that it is unjust to tax the whole country to pay large profits on invested capital which could be equally well employed in other channels. A large majority of the Democratic party are free traders in the sense in which the term is used here—of favoring a tariff for revenue only, but a minority, powerful in influence if not in numbers, are protectionists.



The Complete History of American Tariffs.

1. Two Classifications.—Tariffs are divided into two classifications: Revenue Tariffs and Protective Tariffs.

Each of them are a tax on the manufacture or production from the soil of articles of consumption or use; the former being for the benefit of the state and the latter for the benefit of the manufacturer to a limited extent, at least incidentally.

Previous to the American revolution nearly every kind of manufacturing carried on in the colonies was subjected to duties paid to the crown for such privileges, or, if illegally done, to fines and penalties.

2. Our Tariff Legislation Slightly Modified.—These conditions were only introductory to the subject. Our tariff legislation began in 1789, at the time when we were exchanging our form of government from the slipshod form of a confederacy, if the expression is admissible, to that of a centralized power to subordinate the whole on all issues that affected the whole by the adoption of a constitution alike binding on all; then it was that a tariff act was passed by Congress bearing date of July 4, 1789, the object of which was stated by Congress to be for the encouragement and benefit of manufacturers, although it was barely sufficient for revenue only.

It was slightly modified August 10, 1790. For two fiscal years, ending September 30, its percentage on all importations averaged 15.34. May 2, 1792, another bill was passed which reduced this rate to 13.44 for the next three years. Revenue only had thus far been the result, but protection began now to be considered, to accomplish this the next change was made March 3, 1797, which increased the rates to an average of 18.43 for the next three years. May 13, 1800, another tariff bill was passed, increasing them to 21.30 for the next four years. The next tariff bill was passed March 26, 1804, raising the rates also as to average 23.62 for the next eight years.

3. Retributive Measure.—This brings us near to the war of 1812, when Congress demanded an increase in the rates of the tariff, as a retributive measure, to offset English restrictions on the laws of trade, but these laws were not made to injure America, but to retaliate on Napoleon for his decrees of Berlin, though they affected America as much as France, and caused much popular indignation against England.

4. **New Tariff Bill.**—These, added to the resentful feelings against England for the impressment of American seamen into the British service, were the real incentive to increasing the tariff rates at that time more than any economic necessity, and so strong was this feeling that the extreme Republicans advocated a tariff law which should claim higher duties on English importations than upon those from other countries, but this radical measure was voted down by the Federalists and a few moderate Republicans, and the new tariff bill was passed without any partial discrimination. It bore date of July 1, 1812, seventeen days before the war was declared. It raised the duties for the next four years so as to average 30.18 per cent.

5. **The Effect of the War.**—The rate would have averaged higher but for the fact that the effect of the war had been to change the importations to a class of goods on which low tariff rates had been laid. Previous to this date the percentage on importations has been given on both dutiable and free goods for the reason that the government statistics have not given the two kinds separately. Probably the average might be about two per cent. less could it have been made on dutiable goods only. A very slight change might also have been made, from the fact that the terminations of fiscal years, for which calculations had been made, did not always correspond with dates of new tariffs, but this could not change the gross average but a fraction.

6. **The Beginning of the Real Tariff Issue.**—The war came to an end in 1814, and could no longer be brought into requisition to affect the tariff, and at this time began an issue that has ever since been a prolific source of agitation on jarring interests to which political partisanship has been tenaciously allied, whether from patriotic motives or for party preferences, may be considered a matter of opinion.

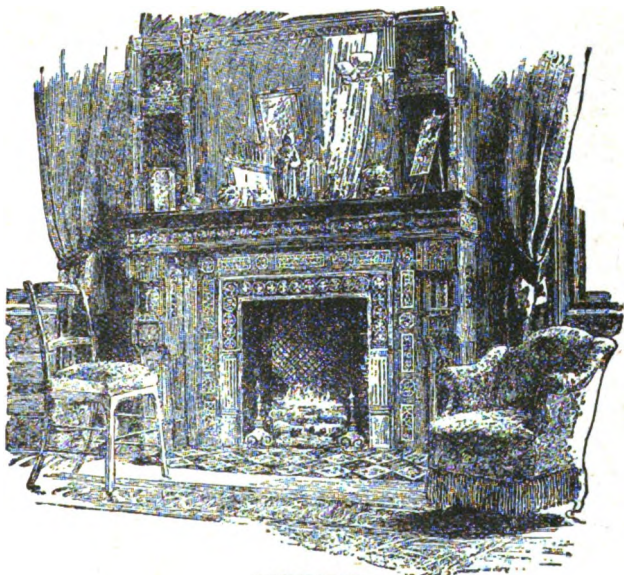
During the Napoleonic wars the manufacturing interests of America had assumed unexpectedly large proportions, owing to the restrictive laws of Congress, such as the Embargo Act of 1807, which interdicted all trade with England, and although the measure caused much stringency in business as well as agricultural interests, it stimulated manufacturing as a matter of necessity, as it cut off all importation during the nineteen months in which it lasted before it was repealed. As might be expected, increased manufacturing created advocates for increased duties for protection of infant industries, a term then much quoted.

7. **For Revenue Only.**—At this particular epoch in American finance, the south had not formulated their policy but Mr. Calhoun, whose influence was potent, soon took the matter into consideration and became their exponent. At first he joined hands with the New England tariff men and favored increased duties on cotton goods under the impression that it would raise the price of the raw material, cotton, which was then the principal staple of the south, and the tariff bill of April 27, 1816, was the result. It materially raised the rates on cotton goods but lowered them on others, with a result, that in the next eight years the ad valorem rates on all importations averaged about the same as those of the four years previous. Until the tariff of 1816, revenue only had been the object and protection incidental to it, but this had transposed these conditions and fairly committed the government to the new policy.

8. **Tariff Bill of 1824.**—Henry Clay was then a rising power in political circles and chiefly through his influence a new tariff bill passed May 22, 1824, increasing duties still more than the last. The opposition against this bill was very strong, and it was only by a bare majority that it became a law. Under it the average rate on dutiable goods for the next four years was 50.84 per cent. May 19, 1828, another bill passed whose changes produced the following results: for 1828, 47.59 per cent.; for 1829, 54.18 per cent.; for 1830, 61.69 per cent., each, average rate on all dutiable goods.

9. **South Carolina Nullification.**—This tariff reached the limit of Southern endurance, and Calhoun now became outspoken as an anti-tariff man, and the South Carolina nullification grew out of it, by which President Jackson gained a reputation for loyalty to the Constitution and Calhoun a reputation for a vindicator of the right. The hostile feeling that grew up between these two distinguished Democrats on this issue never was placated, but Henry Clay, the great compromiser, came to the rescue the next year, and by his influence secured the passage of a bill by which the tariff should be graduated down to an average of 20 per cent. on all dutiable goods after 1842.

10. **The Extreme Limit Never Reached.**—This extreme limit never was quite reached, owing to the panicky times that resulted from the hybrid bank legislation of 1836 and 1837, by which neither metallic currency nor sound paper currency was established. But the "American System," as protection was called, was broken up, and a tariff for revenue only was substantially the law until 1861. From 1857 to this date the rates on dutiable goods had averaged but 20.55 per cent.



LUXURY.

The Right Principles of Taxation.—Tax the Luxuries and Admit the Necessaries Free.

11. **Tariff Acts of 1846 and 1857.**—The country was satisfied with the tariff acts of this period and this moderate tariff was at least one of the elements that contributed to the general welfare.

12. **The Morrill Bill.**—In 1861 the Morrill Tariff Act began a change toward a higher range of duties and a stronger application of protection. The Civil War made additional revenue necessary. The exigency of the times made it easy to carry through Congress measures for increasing tariff. Protection ran riot. Every domestic producer who came before Congress got what he wanted in the way of duties.

13. **After the War.**—After the war Congress set to work at repealing and modifying the internal tax system, but failed to make a reduction of import duties. High protection seemed to carry the day and no material change was made.

14. The Financial Situation.—The connection between tariff legislation and the state of the revenue is very distinctly seen in our history. In 1847 an empty treasury was followed by high tariff legislation. In 1857 an overflowing treasury caused a reduction. In 1864 money was needed and there was an increase in the tariff. In 1872 the redundant revenue brought about a reduction. The financial situation has largely controlled the tariff rates up to the present.

The Difference Between the McKinley Tariff and the Wilson Law.

The LIst Congress, elected in 1888, which came in with the Harrison administration March 4, 1889, had, in the House of Representatives, 173 Republicans, 156 Democrats and 1 Independent. This was the Congress that passed the McKinley bill. It was elected on the pledge of the Republicans, in their press and on the stump, that they would reform the tariff, upon the claim that that system should be corrected by its friends rather than by its enemies. The McKinley law, the highest protective tariff measure the country ever had, was the way the Republicans kept their promises of reform to the people.

The LIId Congress was elected in 1890, and the people showed their appreciation of the way the Republicans had kept their promises regarding tariff reform by electing a House of Representatives that stood 88 Republicans, 235 Democrats and 9 Alliance. To emphasize the popular wish for reform of the tariff Mr. Cleveland was elected President in 1892, and the lower house of Congress elected at the same time stood 129 Republicans, 216 Democrats, 8 Alliance or Populists, with two vacancies. There has been since 1889 no abatement in the popular wish for an improvement in a substantial reduction of the tariff, and the demand is as strong to-day as it was in 1889 for a radical departure from war taxation and the Morrill law of 1861. While this is true it does not indicate any disposition on the part of the people to adopt the free-trade notions of Great Britain, but it is a protest against the enormous taxation of the many for the benefit of the few.

The New Tariff.—As a result of the persistent effort of the people, the Wilson tariff was passed.

Cleveland's Second Term, 1893-1897.—When President Cleveland again came into office, he found both the Senate and the House in harmony with his views. It now became the duty of the Democratic administration to revise the tariff laws. After much discussion, Congress passed a law



THE HON. W. L. WILSON.

Author of the Wilson Tariff Law.

known as the Wilson Bill. This law did not meet the expectations of a large number of the party, but it was the best they could agree upon. This law incorporated as one of its provisions, a tax on all incomes above \$5,000. The income tax is, according to Adam Smith, the most just of all forms of taxation; but the law is unpopular in the United States. For ten years during and following the civil war, we had an income tax; but as it was considered a war-measure, it did not meet with serious objection. Is

an income tax a direct or an indirect tax? The Constitution says, "Direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states . . . according to their respective numbers," etc. A test case was brought before the U. S. Supreme Court, which decided that it was a direct tax, hence unconstitutional. As a result of this decision, the Wilson Bill did not produce sufficient revenues to meet the expenses of the government. By necessary gold purchases and by the shortage in revenues, the public debt, during Cleveland's administration, was largely increased.

Tariff Rates Compared.

SCHEDULE.	COTTON.	FLAX.	WOOL.	SILK.
Wilson bill per cent. ad valorem	41	32	41	46
McKinley tariff.....	55	42	99	53
Mills bill.....	33	25	40	50
Tariff of 1883....	35	31	67	45

The sugar bounty was abolished, and a duty of 40 per cent. ad valorem imposed upon raw sugar, which before was free, while refined sugar pays one-eighth of a cent a pound and 40 per cent. against one-half a cent under the late tariff. Wool, raw hides and many other articles were duty free.

Reciprocity.—The Wilson Law also repealed what was known as the "Reciprocity Section" of the McKinley Law, which had been intended especially to gain the trade of Central and South America for the United States. This section provided that "whenever and so often as the President shall be satisfied that the government of any country producing and exporting sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides, raw or uncured, or any such articles, imposes duties or other exactions upon the agricultural or other products of the United States, which in view of the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides into the United States he may deem to be reciprocally unequal and unreasonable, he shall have the power, and it shall be his duty, to suspend by proclamation to that effect, the provisions of this act relating to the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides, the production of such country for such time as he shall deem just, and in such case and during such suspension duties shall be levied,

collected and paid upon sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides, the product of, or exported from such designated country as follows," etc.

Under This Provision of the McKinley Law, reciprocity treaties had been negotiated with Spain, Brazil, Honduras, Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, San Domingo, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Great Britain for Jamaica, British Guiana and her other West Indian colonies. The favorable effect of the treaty with Spain is best given in the language of the British consul-general at Havana, who is quoted as saying: "British trade with Cuba has also become a thing of the past; and under the recent reciprocity treaty the United States of America practically supplied all the wants of the island and receives all its produce. The effect has been to throw nearly the entire Cuban trade into the hands of the United States traders, with whom importers of goods from less favored nations cannot compete, having to pay by terms of such treaty higher import duties."

Under the Wilson Law Spain at once abrogated the treaty, Brazil soon afterwards gave three months' notice of abrogation, and all the treaties based on reciprocity have terminated. The effect was detrimental to the commerce of the United States.

Tariff Commission League.

Such a league is being endorsed by boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and similar commercial organizations all over the country. The objects of this league are very well set forth in the following statement, signed by every one on becoming a member of the organization:

I hereby agree to unite with a body of business men to organize "The Tariff Commission League," the object of which shall be to promote a movement in favor of a constitutional amendment that will place our country on a permanent protective tariff basis, take the question of "tariff" out of the arena of politics, and place it in the hands of a permanent commission that shall be composed of business men who shall equally represent capital, labor and the farmer.

The first national convention of this organization was held in Detroit, June, 1896. It would seem that the object and work of this organization should commend itself to all truly American citizens.

TABLES SHOWING THE MCKINLEY, WILSON AND DINGLEY TARIFFS ON THE DIFFERENT COMMODITIES.

The articles covered by the tariff acts number many thousands. The following table embraces about 300 selected articles, being mainly those in most general use in the United States. N. e. s. indicates "When not elsewhere specified."

ARTICLES.	1890 (McKinley) Tariff.	1894 Tariff Rate.	1897 (Dingley) Tariff.
Alcohol, amylic.....	10 per cent. ad val.	10 per cent. ad val.	45 per cent. ad val.
Aluminum, unmanufactured.....	15c per lb.	10c per lb.	8c per lb.
Aniline colors or dyes.....	35 per cent. ad val.	25 per cent. ad val.	Free.
Animals for breeding purposes.....	Free.	Free.	Free.
Bags for cotton.....	16-10c and 18-10c per lb.	Free.	1c per square yard.
Bags, grain.....	2c per lb.	Free.	1c per lb.
Barley, bushel of 48 lbs.....	30c per bushel.	30 per cent. ad val.	30c per bushel.
Beads, glass.....	10 per cent. ad val.	10 "	35 per cent. ad val.
Beef, mutton and pork.....	2c per lb.	20 "	2c per lb.
Beer, ale, not in bottles.....	20c per gal.	15c per gal.	20c per gal.
Beer, porter and ale, in bottles.....	40c "	30c "	40c "
Bindings, cotton.....	40 per cent. ad val.	45 per cent. ad val.	45 per cent. ad val.
Bindings, flax.....	50 "	35 "	60 "
Blankets, wool.....	60c per lb. and 60 per cent.	50 "	22c per lb. + 30 pr. ct. ad val.
Blankets, value not over 30c per lb.....	16½c "	25 "	22c plus 30 per cent. ad val.
Blankets, value 30c and not over 40c.....	22c "	30 "	33c "
Blankets, value 40c and not over 50c.....	35c "	35 "	33c "
Blankets, value 50c and over.....	38½c "	35 "	33c "
Bonnets, silk.....	60 per cent ad val.	50 "	35 per cent. ad val.
Bonnets, straw.....	30 "	25 "	25 "
Books, charts, maps.....	25 "	25 "	Free.
Books, over 20 years old, foreign or for public libraries of.....	Free.	Free.	45 per cent. ad val.
Bronze, manufacturers of.....	45 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.	40 "
Brushes.....	40 "	35 "	65c per cubic foot.
Building stone, rough.....	11c per cubic foot.	7c per cubic foot.	1c per lb. and 20% ad val.
Building stone, dressed.....	40 per cent. ad val.	30 per cent. ad val.	6c per lb.
Butter and substitutes for.....	6c per lb.	4c per lb.	1½c p. lb., p. gr. + 15% ad val.
Buttons, pearl.....	2½c per line & 25 per cent.	1c pr line & 15 pr ct. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.
Buttons, sleeve and collar, gilt.....	45 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.	30 "
Buttons, wool, hair, etc.....	60c per lb. and 60 per cent.	50 "	10 "

Canvas for sails.....	50 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.	45 per cent. ad val.
Capa, cotton.....	50 "	40 "	50 "
Capa, fur and leather.....	35 "	30 "	20% ad val. + \$2 to \$7 pr. doz.
Carpets, treble ingrain.....	100 per sq. yd. & 40 per cent.	32 1/2 "	22c per sq. yard.
Carpets, two-ply.....	14c "	40 "	18c per sq. yd. + 40% ad val.
Carpets, tapestry Brussels.....	28c "	40 "	20c "
Carpets, Wilton and Axminster.....	60c "	40 "	80c "
Carpets, Brussels.....	44c "	40 "	44c "
Carpets, velvet.....	40c "	40 "	40c "
Cattle (over one year old).....	\$10 per head.....	20 "	27 1/2 per cent. ad val.
Cheese, all kinds.....	6c per lb.....	4c per lb.	8c per lb.
Cigars and cigarettes.....	\$4.50 per lb. and 25 per cent.	\$4 pr lb. & 25 pr ct. ad val.	\$4.50 per lb. 25% ad val.
Clocks, n. e. s.....	45 per cent. ad val.	25 per cent. ad val.	50 per cent. ad val.
Clothing, ready-made, cotton, n. e. s.....	50 "	40 "	45c per doz., 60% ad val.
Clothing, ready-made, linen.....	55 "	50 "	60 per cent. ad val.
Clothing, ready-made, silk.....	60 "	50 "	41c per lb., 60% ad val.
Clothing, ready-made, woolen.....	49 1/2 per lb. and 60 per cent.	50 "	Free.
Coal, anthracite.....	Free.....	Free.	67c per ton.
Coal, bituminous.....	75c per ton.....	40c per ton.	Free.
Coffee.....	Free.....	Free.	5c per lb.
Confectionery, all sugar.....	5c per lb.....	35 per cent. ad val.	2 1/2 c per lb.
Copper, manufactures of.....	45 per cent. ad val.	35 "	9c per sq. yard, 25% ad val.
Cotton trimmings.....	60 "	50 "	45 per cent. ad val.
Cotton galloons and gimps.....	40 "	45 "	55 "
Cotton gloves.....	50 "	40 "	60 "
Cotton handkerchiefs, hemmed.....	50 "	40 "	45 per cent. ad val.
Cotton handkerchiefs, hemstitched.....	60 "	50 "	55 "
Cotton hosiery, val. at more than 60c and not more than \$2 pr. doz. pairs.....	50c per doz. and 80 per cent.	50 "	60 "
Cotton hosiery, \$2 to \$4 per dozen.....	75c "	40 "	30 "
Cotton hosiery, more than \$4 per doz.....	\$1 "	40 "	70c per doz. + 40% ad val.
Cot n shi's & dra's, val. \$3 to \$5 p. doz.....	\$1.25 "	40 "	\$2 per doz. + 15% ad val.
Cotton plushes, velvets, etc., unbleached.....	10c per sq. yd. & 20 per cent.	40 "	\$1.50 per doz. + 25 per cent.
Cotton Swiss muslin.....	60 per cent. ad val.	50 "	9c per sq. yd. + 25% ad val.
Cotton webbing.....	40 "	45 "	40 per cent. ad val.
Cotton curtains.....	60 "	50 "	45 "
Cutlery, etc., not more than 90c p. doz.....	12c per doz. and 60 per cent.	25 "	50 "

* Valued at not more than 80c per dozen; value from 80c to 50c per dozen; 12c per dozen and 25 per cent. ad val.

MCKINLEY, WILSON AND DINGLEY TARIFFS—Continued.

ARTICLES.	1890 (McKinley) Tariff. 50c per doz. and 50 per cent.	1894 Tariff Rate. 25c per doz. and 25 per cent. ad val.	1897 (Dingley) Tariff. 5c per piece+40% ad val. 10c per piece+40% ad val.
Cutlery, 50c to \$1.50 per dozen.....	" " 50 "	75c per doz. and 25 per cent. ad val.	20c " +40% "
Cutlery, \$1.50 to \$3 per dozen.....	" " 50 "	50 per cent. ad val.	\$1.75 per doz., 20% ad val.
Cutlery, more than \$3 per dozen.....	" " 50 "	45 " "	Not less than 45% ad val.
Cutlery, razors, less than \$4 per dozen.....	" " 30 "	15 " "	" " 45% "
Cutlery, razors, more than \$4 pr. doz.	\$1.75	35 " "	" " 45% "
Cut y. table kn's, not m. than \$1 p. doz.	10c	35 " "	" " 45% "
Cutlery, table knives, \$1 to \$2 pr. doz.	35c	35 " "	" " 45% "
Cutlery, table knives, \$2 to \$3 pr. doz.	40c	35 " "	" " 45% "
Cutlery, table knives, \$3 to \$3 pr. doz.	\$1	30 " "	" " 45% "
Cut y. table kn's, more than \$3 pr. doz.	\$2	30 " "	20 per cent. ad val.
Diamonds (uncut, free), cut and set.....	50 per cent. ad val.	10% "	10 " "
Diamonds cut, but not set.....	10 "	25 " "	Free.
Drugs, crude.....	Free.....	Free.	
Drugs, not crude.....	10 per cent. ad val.	10 per cent. ad val.	
Dyewoods, crude.....	Free.....	Free.	
Dyewoods, extracts of.....	5c per lb.	10 per cent. ad val.	25 per cent. ad val.
Earthenware, common.....	25 per cent. ad val.	20 " "	60 " "
Earthenware, china, porcelain, plain.....	35 "	30 " "	5c per doz.
Earthenware, china, porcelain, decorated.....	60 "	35 " "	35c per lb.
Eggs.....	5c per doz.	3c per doz.	Free.
Engravings.....	25 per cent. ad val.	25 per cent. ad val.	\$1.50, 15 per cent.
Extracts, meat.....	5c per lb.	15 " "	\$4 each plus 15% ad val.
Fertilizers, guanos, manures.....	Free.....	Free.	86 " 35% "
Firearms, don-bar., breech, load n. o. \$6.....	\$1.50 each and 35 per cent.	30 per cent. ad val.	\$1 " 35% "
Firearms, value \$9 to \$12.....	35 "	30 " "	75c " 25% "
Firearms, value over \$12.....	35 "	30 " "	Free.
Firearms, single-barreled.....	51 "	30 " "	3c per lb.
Firearms, pistols, value over \$1.50.....	\$1	30 " "	33c per lb. plus 50% ad val.
Fish, American fisheries.....	Free.....	Free.	33c " 50% "
Fish, smoked, dried.....	5c per lb.	5c per lb.	45 per cent. ad val.
Flannels, value not over 30c per lb.....	18% per lb. and 30 per cent.	25 per cent. ad val.	1c per lb. plus 80% ad val.
Flannels, value 30c to 40c.....	22c "	35 " "	50c per bushel.
Flannels, value 40c to 50c.....	33c "	35 " "	
Flax, manufactures of, n. e. s.....	35 "	35 " "	
Flowers, artificial.....	50 per cent. ad val.	35 " "	
Fruits, preserved in their own juice.....	50 "	30 " "	
Fruits, preserved in other liquids.....	80 "	30 " "	
Fruits, preserved in sugar.....	25c per bushel.....	30 "	

Fruits, oranges, lemons, n. e. s.	15c per box and 30 per cent.	1c per lb.
Fur, manufactures of	35 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.
Furniture, wood	35 " "	35 " "
Glassware, plain and cut	60 " "	60 " "
Glass, lamp chimneys	60 " "	8c per sq. foot.
Glass, polished plate, not over 16x24	8c " "	8c " "
Glass, silvered, not over 16x24	1c per lb.	1c per lb.
Glass bottles, over one pint	1c per lb.	\$1.75 per doz.
Gloves, ladies' and ch'n's schmaschen	\$2.25 " 50 "	\$3.00 " "
Gloves, ladies' and children's lamb	\$2.25 " 50 "	\$2.50 " "
Gloves, ladies' and children's kid	\$2.25 " 50 "	\$4.00 " "
Gloves, suede and all other leather	50 per cent. ad val.	\$1.00 " "
Gloves, all leather, over 14 inches	50 " "	\$1.00 " "
Gloves, men's	\$1 doz. and 50 per cent.	1 1/4c per lb.
Gloves, lined	\$1 " 50 "	2 1/4c " "
Glucose	15 per cent. ad val.	60 per cent. ad val.
Glycerine, value not over 7c per lb.	15c " "	10 " "
Gold, manufactures of, not jewelry	35 per cent. ad val.	20c per sq. yd. (haircloth).
Hair of hogs, curled for mattresses	15 " "	20 per cent. ad val.
Hair, manufactures, n. e. s.	35 " "	
Hair, human, unmanufactured	80 " "	
Hams and bacon	50 per lb.	5c per lb.
Handkerchiefs, linen (hemmed)	55 per cent. ad val.	30 per cent. ad val.
Handkerchiefs, silk	60 " "	Not less than 50% ad val.
Hay	\$4 per ton.	\$4 per ton.
Hemp cordage	2 1/2c per lb.	1c per lb.
Hides, raw, dried, salted and pickled	Free.	15 per cent. ad val.
Hogs	\$1.50 per head.	\$1.50 per head.
Honey	20c per gallon.	20c per gal.
Hoops, iron or steel, bail. purp. (cut)	14c per lb.	5c per lb.
Hoops	15c " "	12c " "

* Valued from 50 cents to \$1 per dozen; valued from \$1 to \$1.50 per dozen; 40 cents per dozen and 25 per cent. ad valorem. † Uncut, 10 per cent. ad valorem; cut and set, 35 per cent. ad valorem. ‡ In packages, 8 cents per cubic foot; in bulk, \$1.50 per M; 30 per cent. ad valorem on barrels or boxes exclusive of contents. § Owing to change of classification in sizes no comparison can be given. Estimated rate on all gloves imported about 40 per cent. ad valorem. The following rates obtain: Ladies' and children's glace finish, schmaschen, not over 14 inches, \$1 per dozen pairs; 14 to 17 inches, \$1.50 per dozen pairs; over 17 inches, \$2; men's, \$3 per dozen pairs. Lamb glace finish, not over 14 inches, \$1.75 per dozen pairs; 14 to 17 inches, \$2.75 per dozen; over 17 inches, \$3; men's, \$4 per dozen. Kid glace finish, ladies and children's, not over 14 inches, \$2.25; 14 to 17 inches, \$3; over 17 inches, \$4; men's, \$4 per dozen. Of sheep origin, not over 17 inches, \$1.75 per dozen pairs; over 17 inches, \$2.75; men's, \$4 per dozen pairs. All leather gloves, when lined, \$1 per dozen additional. || Cotton ties free.

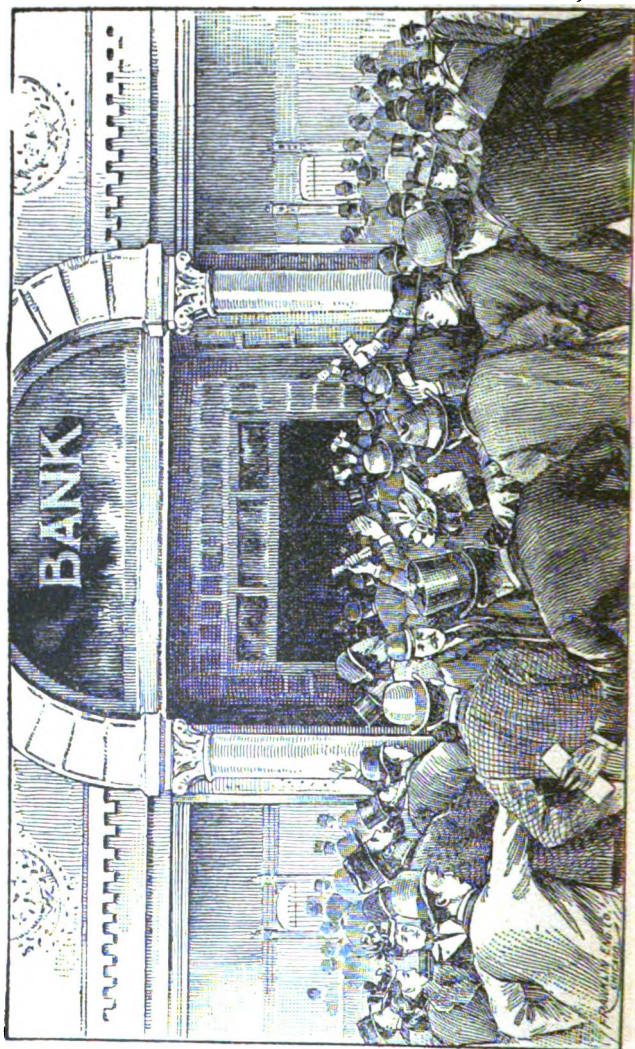
ARTICLES.	11890 (McKinley) Tariff.	1894 Tariff Rate.	1897 (Dingley) Tariff.
Horn, manufactures of.....	30 per cent. ad val.	25 per cent. ad val.	20 per cent. ad val.
Horses, mules, value under \$150 each.....	\$30 per head.....	20 "	\$30 per head.
Horses, mules, value over \$150 each.....	30 per cent. ad val.	20 "	25 per cent. ad val.
India-rubber, manufactures of.....	30 "	25 "	30 "
India-rubber, vulcanized.....	35 "	30 "	30 "
India-rubber, wearing apparel.....	50c per lb. and 50 per cent.	40 "	35 "
Instruments, metal.....	45 per cent. ad val.	35 "	Not less than 45c ad val.
Iron, manufactures of, n. e. s.....	45 "	35 "	35 per cent. ad val.
Iron screws, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch or less in length.....	14c per lb.....	10c per lb.	8c per lb.
Iron, tinned plates.....	2 2-10c per lb.....	1 1-5c per lb.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c "
Ivory, manufactures of, n. e. s.....	40 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.
Jewelry.....	50 "	35 "	60 "
Jute burlaps.....	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c per lb.....	Free.	$\frac{3}{4}$ c per lb.
Knit goods, wool, val. not o. 30c pr. lb.....	2c "	35 per cent. ad val.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c per sq. yard.
Knit goods, wool, app., 30 to 40c pr. lb.....	33c "	35 "	33c pr. lb. + 30 pr. ct. ad val.
Knit goods, wool, app., 40 to 60c pr. lb.....	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ c "	40 "	22c pr. lb. + 30 pr. ct. ad val.
Knit goods, wool, app., 60 to 80c pr. lb.....	44c "	40 "	44c " + 45 "
Knit goods, wool, app., over 80c pr. lb.....	44c "	50 "	60 per cent. ad val.
Knit goods, silk.....	60 per cent.....	50 "	45 "
Laces, cotton.....	60 " ad val.....	50 "	60 "
Laces, linen.....	60 "	50 "	2c per lb.
Lard.....	2c per lb.....	1c per lb.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ c "
Lead, pigs, bars.....	2c "	1c "	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c " (new type) 23 pr. ct.
Lead, type metal.....	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c "	3c "	20 per cent. ad val.
Leather manufactures, n. e. s.....	35 per cent. ad val.....	30 per cent. ad val.	5c per 100 lbs.
Lime.....	6c per 100 lbs.....	5c per 100 lbs.	45 per cent. ad val.
Linen manufactures, n. e. s.....	50 per cent. ad val.....	35 per cent. ad val.	Not less than 50 per cent.
Linen, wearing apparel.....	55 "	35 "	20c per gallon.
Linen thread, value over 13c per lb.....	45 "	35 "	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c per lb.
Linsed oil.....	32c per gal. of 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.....	20c per gal.	45c per bushel.
Macaroni.....	2c per lb.....	20 per cent. ad val.	8c per gross.
Malt, barley.....	45c per bushel.....	40 "	3c p. sq. ft., 35 pr. ct. ad val.
Matches, friction, boxed.....	10c per gr. box, 100 in box.....	20 "	6c per sq. yard.
Mats, cocoas and rattan.....	8c per sq. ft.....	20 "	45 per cent. ad val.
Matting, cocoas and rattan.....	12c " sq. yd.....	35 "	60 "
Mathematical instruments, glass.....	60 per cent. ad val.....	35 "	12c per lb., 20 per ct. ad val.
Meerschaum pipes.....	70 "	50 "	
Mica, ground.....	35 "	20 "	

Milk, fresh.....	15c per gal.....	Free.	20 a gallon.
Milk, condensed.....	2c per lb.....	2c per lb.	2c per lb.
Molasses, n. e. s.....	Free.....	40° to 66°, 2c per gal.	
Muffs, fur.....	35 per cent. ad val.....	80 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.
Musical instruments, metal.....	45 " ".....	25 " ".....	45 " "
Musie boxes.....	45 " ".....	25 " ".....	45 " "
Nails, cut.....	1c per lb.....	22½ " ".....	6c per lb.
Nails, horseshoe.....	4c " ".....	80 " ".....	2½c " "
Newspapers, periodicals.....	Free.....	15 per cent. ad val.	Free.
Oatmeal.....	1c per lb.....	40 " ".....	1c per lb.
Oilcloth, floors, val. over 25c pr. sq. yd.....	15c per sq. yd. & 80 per cent.....	35c per gallon.	8c per sq. yd., 15½ ad val.
Oil, olive.....	8c " ".....	25 per cent. ad val.	40c per gallon.
Oil, whale and seal, foreign fisheries.....	40c per bushel.....	20c per bushel	8c
Onions.....	40 per cent. ad val.....	25 per cent. ad val.	40 per cent. ad val.
Opium, liquid preparations.....	Free.....	45 per cent. ad val.	31 per lb.
Opium, crude and unadulterated.....	Free.....	25 per cent. ad val.	45 per cent. ad val.
Organs.....	Free.....	25 per cent. ad val.	Free.
Paintings, by American artists.....	Free.....	20 per cent. ad val.	20 per cent. ad val.
Paintings, by foreign artists.....	25 " ".....	20 per cent. ad val.	35 " "
Paper manufactures, n. e. s.....	Free.....	2½c per lb.	Free.
Paper stock, crude.....	2½c per lb.....	2½c per lb.	30 pr. ct. ad val., 2½c pr. lb.
Pepper, cayenne, unground.....	32 per gal. and 50 per cent.....	\$2 per gallon and 50 per cent. ad val.	60c pr. lb. + 45 pr. ct. ad val.
Perfumery, alcoholic.....	20c per lb.....	15c per lb.	35 per cent. ad val.
Photophorus.....	35 per cent. ad val.....	30 per cent. ad val.	25 " "
Photograph albums.....	60 " ".....	25 " ".....	45 " "
Photograph slides.....	45 " ".....	25 " ".....	15c per gallon.
Planchettes.....	45 per cent. bot. additional.....	30 " ".....	15c per cent. ad val.
Pins, metallic.....	30 " ".....	10 " ".....	15c per gross.
Pipes of clay, common.....	15c per gross.....	10 " ".....	25 per cent. ad val.
Plants, nursery stock.....	20 per cent. ad val.....	Free.	5c per lb.
Poultry, dressed.....	5c per lb.....	8c per lb.	25c per bushel.
Potatoes.....	25c per bushel (60) lb.....	15c per bushel.	1½c per lb.
Pulp wood, paper-mak'g use, ground.....	\$2.50 per ton dry weight.....	10 per cent. ad val.	7c per lb.
Quicksilver.....	10c per lb.....	85 per cent. ad val.	45 per cent.
Quilts, cotton.....	80 per cent. ad val.....	Free.	Free.
Quinine, sulphate, and salts.....	Free.....	20 per cent. ad val.	20 per cent. ad val.
Railroad ties, cedar.....	25 " ".....	25 " ".....	25 per cent.
Robes, buffalo, made up.....	25 " ".....	10 " ".....	2c per lb.
Roofing tiles, plain.....	25 " ".....	10 " ".....	
Rope, bale, of hemp.....	2½c per lb.....	10 " ".....	

*Above 50°, 4 cents per gallon.

ARTICLES.	1890 (McKinley) Tariff.		1894 Tariff Rate.		1897 (Dingley) Tariff.	
	40 per cent. ad val.	60 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.	40 "	45 per cent.	10c per sq. ft. plus 40 pr. ct.
Rope, bale, of cotton.....	60c per sq. yd. & 40 per cent.		40 "		4c per lb.	
Rugs, Oriental.....	1c per lb.		4c per lb.		3c "	
Salmon, dried or smoked.....	30 per cent. ad val.		30 per cent. ad val.		8c per cwt.	
Salmon, prepared or preserved.....	8c per 100 lbs.		Free.		15c per lb.	
Salt, in bulk.....	12 "		Free.		25 per cent. ad val.	
Salt, in bags.....	45 per cent., bottles extra		30 per cent. ad val.		Free.	
Sauces, n. e. s.....	Free.		Free.		20 per cent. ad val.	
Sausages, Bologna.....	25 per cent. ad val.		30 "		30 "	
Sausages, all other.....	35 "		30 "		60 "	
Sealskin saques.....	20 "		35 "		45c per doz., 15% ad val.	
Seeds, garden.....	50 "		50 "		20 per cent. ad val.	
Sheetings, linen.....	55 "		20 "		35 "	
Shirts, in part or wholly linen.....	25 "		25 "		Free.	
Shoes, leather.....	30 "		30 per cent. ad val.		40c per lb.	
Shoes, India rubber.....	Free.		Free.		60 per cent. ad val.	
Silk, raw.....	35 per cent. ad val.		50 "		20 per cent. ad val.	
Silk, spun in skeins.....	60 "		Free.		20 "	
Silk laces, embroideries, wearing app.	Free.		30 per cent. ad val.		60c per lb.	
Skins, uncured, raw.....	20 per cent. ad val.		30 "		15c "	
Skins, tanned and dressed.....	30 "		50 "		\$2.25 per gallon.	
Slates, manufactures of, n. e. s.....	70 "		50c per lb.		20 per cent. ad val.	
Smokers' articles, except clay pipes.....	14c "		20 per cent. ad val.		20c per lb.	
Snuff.....	30c per lb.		30 "		20 1/4c per lb.	
Soap, castile.....	15c "		35 "		25c "	
Soap, toilet, perfumed.....	14c "		1c per lb.		15c "	
Splinter, in blocks.....	\$2.50 proof gal., bot. ex.		\$1.80 per proof gal.			
Spirits, except bay rum.....	15 per cent. ad val.		Free.			
Statuary, marble.....	2 8-10c per lb.		1 9-10c per lb.			
Steel ingots, slabs, val. 7c to 10c pr. lb.	2 8-10c "		2 4-10c "			
Steel ingots, slabs, val. 10c to 13c pr. lb.	3 1/2c "		2 4-10c "			
Steel ingots, slabs, val. 13c to 16c pr. lb.	4 2-10c "		2 8-10c "			
Steel ingots, slabs, val. above 16c pr. lb.	7c.		4 7-10c "			
Stereoscopic views, glass.....	60 per cent. ad val.		35 per cent. ad val.			
Straw manufactures, n. e. s.....	30c per lb.		25 "			
Sugars, not above 16 Dutch standard.....	Free.....		40 "			
Sugars, above 16 Dutch standard.....	1/2c per lb.		40 "			
Sumac, ground.....	4-10c "		per lb. additional.			
Tea.....	Free.....		10 per cent. ad val.			
Telescopes.....	60 per cent. ad val.		50 per cent. ad val.			

Tin, ore or metal.....	40 per lb.	Free.	Free.
Tin plates.....	2 2-10c per lb.	1 1-5c per lb.	
Tobacco, cigar wrap, not stemmed.	\$2 per lb.	\$1.50	
Tobacco, if stemmed.	\$2.75 per lb.	\$2.25	
Tobacco, all other leaf, stemmed.	50c	50c	
Tobacco, unmanufact., not stemmed.	35c	35c	
Trees, nursery stock.	20 per cent. ad val.	Free.	
Trimnings, cotton.	60 "	50 per cent. ad val.	
Trimnings, lace.	60 "	50 "	
Trimnings, linen.	60 "	50 "	
Trimnings, wool, worsted, etc.	60c per lb. and 60 per cent.	50 "	
Towels, linen, damask.	60 per cent. ad val.	35 "	
Umbrellas, silk or alpaca.	55 "	45 "	
Vegetables, natural, n. e. s.	25 "	10 "	
Vegetables, prepared or preserved.	45 "	30 "	
Velvets, silk, 75 per cent. or more silk.	\$1.50 per lb. and 15 per cent., not less than 50 per cent.	\$1.50 per lb.	
Violins.....	35 per cent. ad val.	25 per cent. ad val.	
Watches and parts of.	25 "	25 "	
Water colors, for artists.	30 "	25 "	
Whips, rawhide and leather.	35 "	35 "	
Wheat, bushel of 60 lbs.	25c per bushel.	20 "	
Willow for basket-makers.	30 per cent. ad val.	30 "	
Willow hats and bonnets.	40 "	25 "	
Willow manufactures, n. e. s.	40 "	25 "	
Wines, champagne, 1/4-pt. bot. or less.	\$2 per dozen.	\$3 per dozen.	
Wines, champagne, bot., 1/2-pt. to 1 pt.	34 "	34 "	
Wines, champagne, bot., 1 pt. to 1 qt.	38 "	38 "	
Wines, champagne, bottles over 1 qt.	\$3 and \$2.50 per gallon.	\$3.50 per gallon.	
Wines, still, in casks.	50c per gallon.	50c	
Woods, cabinet, sawed.	15 per cent. ad val.	Free.	
Wood, first and second class.	11c and 12c per lb.		
Wool, third cla., n. e. s., above 8c pr. lb.	50 per cent. ad val.	30 per cent. ad val.	
Wool or wor. yarns, val. not o. 30c p. lb.	27 1/2c per lb. & 35 per cent.	30 "	
Wool or wor. yarns, val. 30 to 40c p. lb.	33c	30 "	
Wool or wor. yarns, val. over 40c p. lb.	38 1/2c	40 "	
Woolen or worsted clothing.	49 1/2c	50 "	
Woolen m'f's, n. e. s., val. n. o. 30c p. lb.	32c	40 "	
Woolen manufactures, 30 to 40c p. lb.	38 1/2c	40 "	
Woolen manufactures, 40 to 60c p. lb.	44c	50 "	
Woolen manufactures, 60 to 80c p. lb.	44c	50 "	
Woolen manufactu., val. over 80c p. lb.	44c	50 "	



THE RUN ON THE BANK.

A Complete History of the Financial Panics in the United States.

1. **Financial Disturbances.**—Financial disturbances in any country are governed by the simple laws of cause and effect, and are by no means peculiar to the United States. A glance at the history of England or France, for example, will reveal the fact that these disturbances, sufficiently marked to be called **panics**, have occurred at somewhat regular intervals and, as in this country, have followed periods of speculation and of abnormally inflated values. That panics have been more common in our own country, however, than in the Old World is true and not at all strange, when it is considered that we are comparatively a new country, scarcely more than a hundred years old since a stable government was formed, and subject to the experiments and diverse schemes of a republican government of the people by the people. During the first 50 years of our history the experimental stage was of course more marked, and it now may be truthfully said that we as a people are better equipped by reason of our abundant and varied resources and by reason of commanding ability on the part of our financiers than almost any country in the world. History shows that, however sound the monetary system of a country may be and however carefully the government may provide for an adequate revenue and a stable currency, panics as a matter of fact recur at tolerably regular periods. In this country these financial disturbances have occurred on an average about once in 10 years, varying in duration from one to three years.

2. **Over-Trading.**—To briefly trace the history of these panics from the beginning of our national life to the present day is the object of this chapter. By way of preliminary observation it may be stated in general terms that panics affecting the entire business of our country have been usually due to one of two causes, viz.: first, over-trading, calling for an excess of either manufactured or imported products and consequent inflation of the currency used in this over-trading; or, second, to marked changes in the tariff regulations tending to unsettle manufacturing and with it the buying and selling interests of the community for such length of time as may be necessary to bring about an adjustment of business to the changed tariff regulations. With two or three noted exceptions, the last of which had its beginning in 1893, the depressions caused by tariff changes have not, however, been so marked in this country

as from the first cause above named. For instance, from 1814 to 1893 there have occurred at least ten distinct panics at more or less regular intervals concurrent in the United States, in England, and in France, all of which were due to inflation or what we conveniently call "booming" or over-trading.

3. **The Panic of 1814-15.**—During the first year of the Revolutionary War, Congress authorized the issue of "continental currency" or paper money to the extent of \$3,000,000 for the purpose of carrying on the war, which amount was increased in three years to \$160,000,000 and by 1780 had reached the large amount of \$359,000,000. Depreciation in the face value of the currency gradually took place until in 1779 Congress undertook to decree that it should be taken at its face value, but as in 1780 government ceased to take it for custom dues it rapidly went down, until in 1781 it was practically worthless. This state of affairs led Congress during the latter year to form the Bank of North America on a plan formulated by United States Treasurer Morris. The capital was fixed at \$10,000,000. The bank, hampered from the first by the large loans required by the government, was not a success, and having an inadequate capital continued to increase its note circulation during the succeeding seven or eight years until the people finally refused to take its issues at par or anywhere near it. Hard money was in general demand, causing a hoarding of the precious metals and consequent stagnation of business and an era of general bankruptcy followed. In 1790, Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, came forward with a proposition for the founding of a National Bank which Congress duly authorized, and in 1794 it commenced business as the "Bank of the United States." It had a capital of \$10,000,000, one-fifth of which was subscribed by the government and the other three-fifths by private individuals. Two of the latter \$8,000,000 were to be paid in metallic money and \$6,000,000 in 6 per cent. state bonds. The charter was to expire in 1811. It was, however, afterward extended. For several years transactions of the United States Bank were profitable, for it paid an average of 8 per cent. on its capital.

4. **State Banks.**—In the meantime, soon after the establishment of the national bank, in 1781, state banks, notably in Pennsylvania, began to be organized, and by 1811 there were 88 of these in existence with an aggregate capital of \$77,258,000. Speculation ran high, paper money was abundant and the apparent prosperity of the country was attributed to the issue of paper money both by the govern-

ment and the state banks. Then came the War of 1812. At its beginning the exportation of the precious metals nearly ceased, the banks increased their issues and made great profits for the stockholders. The Farmer's Bank of Lancaster, Pa., yielded a round 12 per cent. on its stock, and a widespread mania prevailed among all classes to invest in bank stocks and to engage in visionary financial schemes generally. In 1813, 41 banks were chartered in Pennsylvania with a capital all told of only \$17,000,000. These banks had no adequate specie basis, and yet continued the issue of notes on a liberal scale. On the other hand the New England states, with more prudence, had enacted stringent laws governing banking and the redemption of bank notes and when under the pressure of war times and a surfeit of practically irredeemable currency the banks of the other states suspended payment in the early fall of 1814 the New England banks remained solid. A temporary arrangement was made between the business public and the banks, especially in Philadelphia, for the restoration of confidence based on the agreement of the latter to resume payment of their notes at the close of the war and for a time money continued plentiful, times were apparently good, inflation of values extending to goods and to real estate was the rule everywhere and speculation was universal. Everybody could borrow money and few looked forward to a day of reckoning. When in 1815 the reaction came, people found that while the value of hard money had increased they had little of real value, as judged by the metallic standard, left to show for their great apparent gains.

5. The Large Loans to the Government.—The large loans to the government by the banks for the prosecution of the war, amounting to nearly \$53,000 000, helped along the inflation of currency, the banks advancing money beyond their resources, thus augmenting their circulation. When the crash came, the United States Bank, whose managers had taken warning in time and reduced its discounts and circulation, was found to be in fairly sound condition. By the middle of 1815, after peace had been declared, ocean commerce had resumed its activity and general business was in full swing, although the promise of the state banks to resume specie payment had not been fulfilled.

6. Reorganize the United States Bank.—Early in this year a proposition was made to reorganize the United States Bank, and in April, 1816, an act was secured for the organization of a company with a capital of \$35,000,000, in shares of \$100 each. The government took 70,000 shares

and the general public the other 180,000 shares. The latter were payable in gold or silver to the extent of \$7,000,000 and \$21,000,000 either in the same kind of money or in the United States' consolidated debt bonds at par or in other government securities at values varying according to the interest rate which they bore. Thirty dollars per share had to be paid on subscription, of which \$5 were in gold; in six months \$35 more was due, of which \$10 had to be in specie, and the remaining \$35 was payable in 12 months on the same terms. The charter was to run until March, 1836. Of the 25 directors, five were to be appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate, and the rest were to be chosen by the stockholders and some of the states, no state being allowed to name more than three directors. In the contraction of any debt the bank was limited to \$35,000,000 in excess of its total deposits; could not buy and sell the securities of other countries not capable of being at once realized upon; was confined to 6 per cent. interest on discounts and loans, and was restricted to \$500,000 as the maximum amount to be loaned to the United States, \$50,000 to each state, and loans to foreigners were entirely prohibited. Bank notes not exceeding \$100 each were payable on demand, while larger denominations were allowed sixty days for payment. The smallest bank note was for \$5. Bills of exchange and sight drafts were receivable at the United States Treasury. The bank was to receive and disburse the public moneys, and to act as an agent for any state in the negotiation of a loan. Suspension of payment of bank notes or deposits could not be authorized either by Congress or by the directors. As a bonus for the charter, the bank was to give the government \$1,000,000, in three installments. Upon the demand of the state Legislatures, branches were to be established wherever 2,000 shares of the stock were taken.

7. **The Panic of 1818.**—It soon appeared that extensive speculation in the shares of the bank was going on. By September, 1817, the shares sold as high as \$156.50 and so continued until December of the following year when they fell back to \$110. This result was largely brought about by the knowledge that some of the directors were freely loaning \$125 or more on these \$100 shares and the speculation mania ran high and precipitated the panic of 1818.

Over-issue, or at least imprudent issue of bank notes upon a limited basis of specie began to be felt even before October, 1818, when the payment of the foreign debt of Louisiana withdrew a large sum from the United States Bank.

Evidence of the depreciation of the currency also began to be seen in the large advance in the price of foreign goods, especially those from India and China. As invariably happens, as soon as these indications of depreciation in the circulating medium were observed, a general demand for specie payment set in. The bank had no alternative but to meet the demand, and to do this it strained every nerve, meanwhile reducing its circulation as rapidly as possible. The state banks did likewise, necessarily, and the result of the general contraction was a general stagnation of business. In order to pay the notes of the bank and its various branches, the national bank emptied its vaults of more than \$7,000,000 and the state banks of more than \$3,000,000 in specie in a single year.

8. Investigation by Congress.—The management of the United States bank was finally made a subject of investigation by Congress and a committee appointed by that body in the latter part of 1818 reported that the directors had violated several of the provisions of the charter. The result was the appointment of new directors and a change of management. The panic continued through 1819, and the country suffered severely. Real estate depreciated to about one-half its value, failures among business men of nearly all classes were almost universal and men of wealth speedily became poor, while the middle class were generally impoverished. Manufacturing dwindled and the laboring classes were either idle or poorly paid. In January, 1820, the Legislature of Pennsylvania, which for some years had fostered a loose system of banking, adopted a conservative course and decided that banks should be restricted in their note issues to one-half their capital, that no director should be re-elected until after a three years' interval, and that their books should be annually inspected by state examiners. Other states adopted similar regulations and the national bank now being under a new management and public sentiment in a condition of healthy conservatism on the subject of banks and business, an improvement soon took place and the country gradually resumed its former prosperity. It is worthy of note that, during the general depression through 1818-19, the government securities kept up to 103 and 104.

9. The Panic of 1825.—In 1825 another financial panic set in. The prosperity of the country for the preceding four or five years encouraged the formation of numerous banks, and, forgetting the lessons of the past, new banks were formed in Pennsylvania, and in 1824 the Legislature passed a bill re-establishing the charters of most of the banks which had

failed 10 years before; while in New York, to "start a bank" was a kind of mania. Various stock companies of a speculative character were organized and stock speculation became rife. By 1825 the reaction set in, helped along materially by financial embarrassments in England, owing in part to speculations in America, cotton and mines and the ruling of money exchange in London, which rose from 5 to about 10 per cent. Cotton fabrics declined from 18 to 13 cents per yard, and many of the factories closed. This panic, however, was not of long duration, general liquidation and readjustment of values occurring during 1826, and during the latter part of that and in the following year times were again good, and money, in a commercial sense, easy.

10. United States Bank Putting in Circulation Large Amounts of Drafts.—Although gradually the banks generally had become established on a better basis and hard money was plenty, yet by 1828 there began to develop a condition which, under other circumstances, would doubtless have led to a serious panic. This condition was largely caused by the course of the United States Bank in putting in circulation a large amount of drafts issued by the branch banks which circulated freely, taking the place of the bank notes put out by the local banks, merely displacing this circulating medium without increasing the general circulation. Naturally the issues of the local banks were freely exchanged for these drafts of the national bank, or rather of its branches, and the former having a comparatively limited circulation suffered thereby. This disturbance was, however, more in the nature of competition between the local banks and the national bank than otherwise, and while causing some depression to business from scarcity of currency did not rise to the proportions of a panic. Gold and silver money being comparatively plenty no doubt helped to prevent more serious complications. During the next two or three years business was very active and the country prosperous. Wars in Europe, the cholera and other causes combined to make more productive the use of capital in the United States and the line of bank loans and discounts rose in proportion both among the state banks and in the United States Bank, the discounts of the latter rising from \$24,000,000 in 1826 to \$44,000,000 in 1831, and the circulation from \$9,000,000 to \$22,000,000. The New York banks had a surfeit of money by 1830, and all the banks extended their operations, thus making the obtaining of credit in business circles comparatively easy.

11. A Reaction.—By 1831, however, over-trading, as usual, produced a reaction and the party opposed to the United States Bank, led by President Andrew Jackson, maintained that the influence and operations of the institution were calculated to embarrass rather than to promote the interests of the country at large.

12. The Panic of 1837.—Matters pertaining to the United States Bank continued much as formerly, the contentions of the bank and the anti-bank party going on until 1832, when it having transpired that the president of the bank had sent an agent to London to negotiate a loan of \$6,000,000 from the Barings and its practical insolvency being charged, President Jackson strongly opposed the renewal of its charter, which was to expire in 1836.

13. Congress Antagonized the President.—Congress, however, antagonized the President and voted to renew the charter. The President, with characteristic firmness vetoed the bill passed by Congress. In the following year, 1833, President Jackson ordered the withdrawal of the government deposits from the bank, which after considerable wrangling in Congress, the Senate opposing and the House sustaining the President, was accomplished. In 1836 dealings between the government and the bank entirely ceased, its president, Mr. Biddle, having about this time mysteriously secured the special charter of the Bank of Pennsylvania. The directors turned over everything belonging to the old bank to the new one, and although owing the government \$16,000,000, made no provision for its payment. The career of this new bank with the old name and the old president will be noted later on.

14. Monetary System.—The panic of 1837-39 was at first strictly one affecting the monetary system of the country and did not seem to check the general prosperity, while President Van Buren, who succeeded General Jackson in 1837, like his predecessor, favored a circulation of hard money and shaped the policy of his administration to secure it by having the United States Treasury refuse at first all bank notes of less than \$5, later on all less than \$10, and still later all under \$20. All these exertions, however, failed to stave off the impending crisis resulting from excessive over-trading, wild speculation, and above all the drain upon the country by Europe of hard money, the "balance of trade" being heavily against the United States. In 1836 the imports of this country exceeded the exports by the large sum of \$50,000,000. Besides this, individual firms and houses engaged in speculative schemes were heavy borrowers from Holland and England. When the financial

tension had become great, the Bank of England sharply advanced the rate of discount on American paper, and general collapse followed. Many of the banks suspended payment, and though Mr. Biddle, of the new United States Bank schemed to stay the tide, his bank, too, suspended, and for a year general financial demoralization marked the panic of 1837.

15. The Panic of 1839.—The main cause which led up to the panic of 1839 may be traced to Mr. Biddle and his wild financial schemes. After the resumption of business by his "United States Bank" he planned to control all the immense cotton sales of the south. He succeeded in becoming the great cotton factor, with agencies at Havre and Liverpool, to whom the bulk of this staple was to be consigned. Having thus a monopoly, by shrewd manipulation the price was advanced, much to the satisfaction of the planters. But Biddle paid them in bank paper, while he drew on his foreign correspondents for gold, at one time drawing 3,000,000 pounds sterling on London. In the latter part of 1837 he caused to be established banks in several of the southern states, by the aid of which advances were made to the planters. They were flimsy affairs, with small capital, and in the following year their note issues depreciated 30 per cent. and soon were refused by the cotton producers. But Biddle was equal to the emergency, and at once proceeded to buy up the shares of the banks at a large discount. He also purchased their papers having two years to run, and in 1838 had put into the business on the strength of his United States Bank \$100,000,000, while he loaned the planters about \$20,000,000 on their cotton crops for three years at 7 per cent. The southern bank shares which his bank had purchased soon rose to par, as he had intended, and then he sold them in the London market. The good crops in the United States and apparent general prosperity, together with the fact that Biddle kept a large balance in Europe, inspired general confidence in London, the Bank of England taking the paper of the United States Bank at 2 to 3 per cent. discount. Meanwhile the bank's stock of cotton controlled by Biddle increased until it reached as high as 90,000,000 bales. The speculation had yielded a profit of \$15,000,000, but soon confidence in the brilliant financiering of the president of the United States Bank began to wane in this country, for the paper money which the planters had received for their cotton began to depreciate from 15 to 25 per cent., while the crop of cotton fell off about one-fifth.

16. Biddle.—In February and March, 1839, the sales of cotton at Havre and Liverpool were made at a loss and the

agents there began to store the large cargoes still being sent over. Seeing that this condition of affairs abroad was likely to react unfavorably at home, Biddle for a time threw dust into the financial air by starting a bank in New York with \$50,000,000 of capital. He issued long-time papers and bought extensively with this paper American canal, railroad and other stocks, which he sold for a time in the London market. Before long, however, the bank's long-time paper fell to about 80 per cent. and American exchange and investments were practically ruled out in London and Paris. The cotton market was in a bad way, and the houses in Paris and at Amsterdam which had handled the staple for Biddle withdrew their connection. He was, however, still able to get money in London, and on the security of government bonds and canal and railroad shares secured help from the Rothschilds and to some extent from the Bank of England.

17. General Depreciation.—Nothing could stay the incoming tide of general depreciation of all American securities, and the loss on these securities and the fall of cotton caused a large number of failures in London, Manchester and Birmingham. In the United States business circles had suffered from over-trading, and the general loss of confidence made actual money "tight," affecting even government finances. Bank failures were numerous, the failures being 959. The old "Bank party" united to force the government to turn to the United States Bank for help. The government issued instead \$10,000,000 of treasury bonds. Biddle made a show of resuming specie payment, but could not restore genuine confidence, while the national administration, under President Van Buren, ordered that collectors of government dues refuse all bank notes, of less than \$20 not payable in specie. At last the state of Pennsylvania ordered the resumption of specie payment by all banks chartered by that state on or before January 15, 1841. The shares of Biddle's bank had yielded no dividends in 1839, and during the first six months of 1840 fell to \$61, although at one time they had been quoted as high as \$1,500. After general loss to banks and other interests of fully 50 per cent., the panic ceased in 1841, and business moved forward again on a more solid basis. The famous "United States Bank" had been forever swept away in the storm.

18. A Slight Panic.—During the succeeding seven years the financial condition of the country showed much improvement. The banks were conducted on a more solid basis, and by 1844 the circulation was reduced to \$58,000,000

from \$254,000,000 in the previous year, while the specie reserve had increased from \$37,000,000 to \$49,000,000 during 1844. The capital of the banks as well as their number was materially decreased, the former being reduced from a total of \$350,000,000 in 1840 to \$196,000,000 in 1846. Gradually, however, banks began again to increase in number, and note circulation by 1848 had reached \$128,000,000 from \$58,000,000 in 1844, while during the same time the specie reserve was reduced by about \$14,000,000. In 1848 a slight panic, partly produced by the panic in Europe, but mainly by currency inflation with its usual reaction occurred, but its influence was not serious nor its duration long extended.

19. **The Panic of 1857.**—From 1849 to 1857, in which year a serious panic in the financial history of this country occurred, general business was good and the increase of discounts by the banks was steady and the deposits showed a gradual gain. The discounts grew from \$332,000,000 in 1849 to \$684,000,000 in 1857, and the increase of the bank circulation was \$100,000,000. The number of banks increased from 751 in 1848 to 1,416 in 1857, but while the 751 banks in 1848 had \$207,000,000 of capital, the 1,416 banks in 1857 had only \$370,000,000, and although the specie reserve increased considerably, it did not increase in proportion to the discounts and circulation. For example, in 1837 the specie on hand of the banks was \$1 to each \$6 of paper money, but in 1857 the specie on hand, amounting to \$14,300,000, was in the proportion of \$1 to \$8 of paper. By the payment of high interest on deposits, the banks increased this item materially by the early part of 1857. The money so acquired was loaned freely to speculators, of whom there was an abundant crop, and up to June, 1857, when deposits began to diminish, loans, discounts and deposits indicated prosperity. Railway schemes were numerous and the shares on the market plenty, while speculation in lands on borrowed money by people having no solid backing had become extensive. As usual, large amounts of railroad shares were floated in the London market.

20. **Signs of Trouble.**—By September, 1857, there began to be signs of trouble, three or four small banks having suspended, and by the 1st of October the demands of the country banks upon the metropolitan American Exchange Bank of New York were greater than ever before. On the 13th of October, with a premium of one-fourth to one-half per cent. on specie the banks very generally suspended specie payment. Necessarily the wheels of commerce stopped, everybody following the example of the banks

suspended payment, and for about a month the finances and business of the country were in a very critical condition, but the resources of the banks and the exceptionally good crops of the year soon served to restore a degree of confidence, and upon December 11, the banks resumed payment.

The shrinkage of collaterals deposited by the banks may be seen when it is stated that these collaterals, in 1856, represented \$2,500,000, on which notes from borrowers were accepted of \$2,000,000, while the same collaterals in 1857 were valued at \$560,000, on which only \$383,000 was loaned on notes. General revival of business followed the resumption of the banks, and by January, 1858, recovery from the panic was complete. About the same flurry occurred at the same time in Europe, followed by a like speedy recovery. Briefly over-issue of bank notes, too indiscriminate loaning by the banks to speculators, and the extension of business in the country upon excessive credits were the causes of the panic of 1857. More stringent regulations by some of the states, especially New York, governing the capital and management of the banks were one of the good results of the panic.

21. **The Panic of 1873.**—The most extensive and far-reaching in its results of any panic occurring in the history of the United States was the panic of 1873. The causes were many, but the readjustment of inflated values consequent upon the conditions brought about by the war of the Rebellion may be set down as the chief cause back of more immediate causes. During the war the whole monetary system of the country had undergone a change; government bonds to a large amount had been issued, the green-back national currency established and money was plenty. When measured by a gold standard the money was quite as "cheap" as it was plenty. The immense expenditures called for in the conduct of the war stimulated all lines of business and speculation ran high. Land values especially in the west, where towns sprang up as if by magic, rapidly increased and great fortunes were realized by a good many of the investors. Manufacturers of all kinds were stimulated to undue proportions in many cases and great strides had been made up to 1872 in the apparent prosperity of the country. During the last two months of the latter year the signs of the coming storm appeared when the rate of discount went up to 7 per cent. and then nearly double that figure in some cases. Accommodation paper began to be hard to discount at the banks, though temporary improvement followed for fitful periods during the spring and summer of 1873. Railroad building went on at a



AFTER THE ASSIGNMENT.
The Banker in Distress.

rapid rate and on an extensive scale, involving an expenditure of about \$121,000,000 and represented by about 4,200 miles of road during 1873. On October 18 the storm broke, when the great banking house of Jay Cooke & Co. went down. Not only this house but most other banking houses had loaded up with railroad and similar securities and the load was too heavy to carry. The price of gold, which in January, 1873, stood at 112½ per cent. went up to 119½ in April. Bank discounts, which amounted to \$300,000,000 in September, 1871, were reduced to \$278,000,000 by September, 1873, and deposits which in July, 1871, were \$248,000,000 stood at \$198,000,000 in September, 1873. During this month the New York Stock Exchange was closed for 10 days, during which time the "legal tender" notes were at a premium of from one-fourth to 3 per cent.

22. Withdrawal of Deposits.—The withdrawal of deposits everywhere caused a "run" on the banks, and the government stepped in to ease the situation by buying \$13,500,000 of its 5-20 bonds, which afforded only temporary relief. Following the Jay Cooke failure came the closing up of Fiske & Hatch, the Union Trust Company, the National Trust Company, the National Bank of the Commonwealth and other large institutions. By the 1st of November discounts which on the 12th of September had been \$199,000,000 fell to \$169,000,000, and stagnation of business was general. During the depression the national government put on the market a new issue of 5-20 bonds, most of which were taken by Germany, and this helped to relieve the strain. Throughout all the trouble government bonds not only held up but advanced from 91 per cent. in April, 1873, to 96 in October, when the panic was at its worst, showing the general faith in the stability and resources of the nation. State bonds also, as a rule, maintained their integrity and were freely taken whenever offered abroad. Railroad securities, excepting those of the old established lines, were much depressed and with good cause, for about 90 companies failed to pay their interest coupons when due.

23. Wholesale Manipulation of Stock.—Doubtless the situation as regarded the railroads was made much worse than it would naturally have been by the wholesale manipulation of stocks, by combinations, notably that of the Vanderbilts, whose managers drove shares of some good roads down to a low point so that they might buy them up at their own figure. The stable character of the finances of the national government and the era of retrenchment which soon set in on the part of the people, who had over-traded

extensively, soon brought about a better state of affairs and gradually business again became active, based more nearly on real values in place of the former fictitious ones.

24. **The Panic of 1884.**—Following the panic of 1873 the financial condition remained in a satisfactory condition until May, 1884, when a financial disturbance occurred, having its center in New York, but more or less affecting the entire country. It was, in the main, a panic of which the stock speculators of Wall street were responsible rather than because of any real weakness of the banks or of over-trading in business circles or of overproduction by the manufacturers. The era of railroad speculations had reached its culmination in this country in 1880, and the excessive competition in rates among new lines by 1881 had caused a retrograde movement to set in. Some of the large concerns in New York which had been reckless operators in railroad securities and had forced prices far above real values, found they could no longer perform the impossible feat of making water to run up hill and, in the language of the street, laid down. In May, 1884, the stockbroker firm of Grant & Ward, of which General Grant had unfortunately become a nominal member, failed through the crooked speculations of Ward, and for which General Grant afterward made all the reparation in his power. The firm was closely connected with the National Marine Bank, which on the 5th of May failed. Then followed closely the suspension of the Second National, the Metropolitan and a number of smaller banks which were intimately connected with these institutions. Before the close of the month the savings bank of Fiske & Hatch and several banking and brokerage firms failed.

25. **Credits.**—The panic among the banks so intimately associated became extensive, and getting credits even for legitimate transactions was next to impossible. Securities heretofore readily received as collateral were refused, and even on the offering of those of unquestioned value no money could be had. In this emergency the Clearing House of the Associated Banks promptly arranged to issue certificates receivable in behalf of the crippled members of the association and supplemented this action by receiving through a committee bills and securities as collateral in exchange for which certificates of deposit bearing 3 per cent. were issued up to 75 per cent. of the deposit. This action not only prevented many failures but soon restored confidence and enabled the Metropolitan and other banks to resume without loss to depositors. In the mean time the Secretary of the

Treasury aided the recovery by pledging the government to pay before maturity a large amount of bonds due in the near future.

26. Specie Payment.—The government paid in gold, and the affected banks also managed to keep up their specie payment. Several banks, not over strong and many private banking firms failed beyond recovery, but these did not materially affect the general public. By the middle of June the immediate effect of the disturbance had ceased, though, like a receding wave, some small banking institutions remote from New York and Chicago were affected, and the panic of 1884 was a thing of the past. The number of banks in 1884 was 2,664.

27. The Panic of 1893-94.—We come now to the last financial disturbance which assumed the proportions of a real panic, and had its noticeable beginning in 1893, and the effect of which was felt for many years. Good crops and fair prices, coupled with our system of national banks, enabled the country to realize continued prosperity after 1884, and the development of mining interests and agricultural resources in the West went on steadily, while manufacturing in all parts of the country increased, notably so in the reconstructed South, adding to the permanent resources of a great nation. In 1888 the specie reserve amounted to \$181,000,000, the banking capital to \$592,000,000, the discounts to \$1,684,000,000, and the exports to \$1,350,000,000. By the following year the volume of trade was larger than in any year of the nation's history and the bank clearings showed an increase of 13 per cent. over 1888. The crops were abundant and railroad earnings were larger than for any previous period. Very naturally, the conditions were favorable to the unfolding of large enterprises, some of which were overdone, and in 1892 signs of a reaction were noted. In 1893, following a change of administration from the Republican to the Democratic party, which had become pledged in its platform to a free trade policy, the uneasiness consequent upon any radical change in the tariff of the country began to manifest itself and manufacturers contracted their operations extensively, while they maintained a waiting attitude in anticipation of a radically changed tariff. Over-production in many lines also made it necessary for the manufacturers to reduce their output and a decrease of wages was the result. This contraction in turn affected all branches of trade and times during the summer and fall of 1893 were dull. Some bank failures took place, but only among small country banks.

28. **A New Tariff Bill.**—As was expected the party in power, controlling both branches of Congress, proposed a new tariff bill, and during the long session of 1894 most of the time of Congress was taken up with its consideration. The uncertainty of its passage and the form which the proposed law would take if passed kept the country in a state of uncertainty all through the summer and fall. A large number of business failures occurred and many banks of the smaller variety closed up either temporarily or permanently, though the banks at such centers as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and St. Louis remained solid. In fact, rarely have the banks been in better condition than since the beginning of the recent trouble. There was no lack of money in 1894-5, but for a time it was exceedingly difficult to negotiate loans from the banks on any class of securities. A general policy of hoarding money among the people prevailed, and all who could put their surplus into first-class securities and stored them away in safety deposit vaults and elsewhere.

29. **A General Distrust.**—A general distrust of the future prevailed and consequently traders did business on a narrow margin, buying small stocks at short intervals, thus adding to the uncertainties of the manufacturing interests. To make matters worse wheat, under the influence of a large supply and a limited foreign demand, declined from time to time, varying for months from 53 to 64 cents, other products following in a less marked decline. To add further to the complications the great railway strike of July and August, 1894, initiated by the American Railway Union under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, with its storm center in Chicago, took place and kept the country in a demoralized state, while extensive coal strikes in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois added to the troubles. At last, just before adjournment in October, 1894, Congress passed a new tariff bill so long pending, though with much less sweeping reductions than were anticipated, and a settled policy on that question having been adopted, the country experienced the relief which certainty brings. The finances of the government, however, owing to inadequate revenues and the constant drain of gold from the United States Treasury, most of which found its way to Europe, operated unfavorably to rapid recovery from financial depression. In December government issued \$100,000,000 of 3 per cent. bonds which were taken by a syndicate of New York bankers and afforded temporary relief.

Money.—First Issue in America.

1. **Codfish.**—The first American money that history informs us of was wampum and the dried codfish of Newfoundland. The latter were in general use as money, and answered the purpose better than any other material that could have been procured in that region. A single fish was a sufficiently small change for small transactions, and a mass of them not cumbersome, Superior convenience made its adoption for money natural.

2. **Wampum.**—This consisted of small shells like beads. They were of two kinds, white and black. The white was the periwinkle; the black was made with more labor out of the black part of a clam shell and was double the value of the white. Strings, groups of strings and belts made of them were the money known as wampum. Wampum was made a legal tender in the Massachusetts colony for 12d. only. A belt of it was six feet long and consisted of 360 beads. The whites afterward caused an inflation by importing the beads by the barrel.

3. **Corn.**—In 1641 corn was made a legal tender in the Plymouth colony for the payment of debts, "to save the debtor from the inequality of forcing him to great sacrifices in consequence of the scarcity of the money of the realm."

4. **Spanish Coins.**—Gold and silver Spanish coins were used for a time, but in 1652 a mint was set up in Boston to make a set of coins for home circulation, and laws were made to drive out the Spanish coins.



New England Shilling.

New England Shilling.

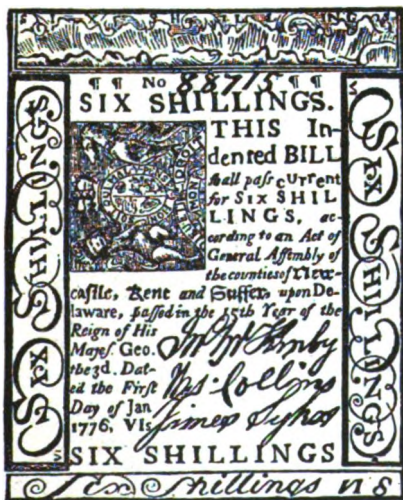
Issued by Massachusetts In 1652.



SOME OF THE FIRST COINS MADE IN THE UNITED STATES.

5. **Current Money of Paper.**—King George III. authorized the General Assembly of Delaware to create and provide paper money for debt-paying purposes. Of this current money of King George, a sum equal to \$150,000 of our American dollars were issued, each piece of paper being first printed from an engraved block of wood and thus numbered and signed personally by each of the three commissioners appointed to take charge of this issue and note to whom it was paid for services or loaned on security; the interest paid for its use going to the treasuries of the three counties named in the bill. This is the first issue of current money of paper issued on American soil, though the Indians used a legal tender of shells made under the personal sanction of their chief in settlement of their debts one to another.

6. **The Reverse Side of these Bills** were as follows, both the face and the reverse being copied, fac-simile, from the



First Continental Money.

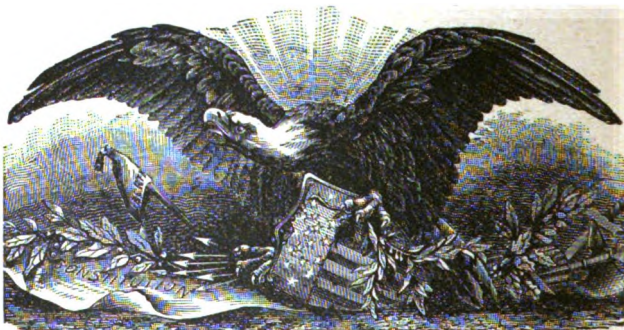
old money now in possession of the writer. The fac-similes of these old moneys will be valuable, as they represent things of the past and point the way to better money in the future. The existence of this money did not prevent men from obtaining gold or silver coins, or anything else their fancy craved that was in sight or known of. It did not lessen the value of any pile of land or other property. It was a new

birth. A new creation. A public benefit, as it increased by its volume the sum of circulating medium, which was too

small for the good of a people disposed to enterprise and to be useful by going into debt for improvements.

7. **Continental Scrip.**—To the continental scrip of olden time attention is called. It differs, as will be seen, from the bills of King George, or from greenbacks, as it does not declare itself to have power to pass current, nor to be a legal tender. It promises nothing, but entitles the bearer to receive five Spanish milled dollars. That is, five pieces of silver minted in Spain and with rough edges, or the value thereof in gold or silver, so that if this continental bill was redeemed it could be redeemed in Spanish money, or in metals, at such intrinsic value as they might have in the scales of trade.

8. **Legal Tender.**—The power that emitted these bills of credit did not declare them to be legal tender for the payment of debts; did not declare them receivable by the government; did not give to them any function to perform as money; did not attach a penalty for counterfeiting because they were not, as bills, in possession of power to arbitrate a debt. Had Congress declared this currency of olden time to be legal tender money always held at par by its parent, it would always have ranked with the most precious metals or productions of power as a thing to pay debts.



UNITED STATES SEAL.



—FAKIR—

"Here is where you get your money's worth."

Paper Money in the United States.

The English colonies soon after their settlement issued paper money. Massachusetts took the lead, in order to secure funds to besiege Quebec.

The circulation of paper money increased until hard money became in great demand, and much of the paper money was not worth 10 per cent. of its face value.

In the War of Independence, Congress first issued three million of paper dollars. It was increased to \$160,000,000, then to \$359,000,000, and in 1781 it had no rating and was not taken at 1 per cent. of its face value.

BANK OF NORTH AMERICA.

Upon the adoption of the United States Constitution the issuing of paper money ceased, and gold and silver became the new circulating medium. The Bank of North America, organized and controlled by the United States, with a capital of \$10,000,000, was greatly embarrassed, and, owing to its loans to the government, it was compelled to increase its note circulation to an enormous amount. This increase of paper money aroused suspicion; people refused the notes; every one struggled to obtain hard money, hence it became impossible to borrow money, and bankruptcy followed.

In 1790 Mr. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, proposed the organization of the national bank to Congress, and in 1794 it began operations under the name, "Bank of the United States," with a capital of \$10,000,000, \$8,000,000 being subscribed by private individuals and \$2,000,000 by the government.



New Hampshire Shilling, Coined 1776.

Two million of this sum were to be paid in metallic money, and \$6,000,000 in state bonds; the charter was to continue till March 4, 1811. This bank paid an average dividend of 8 per cent. The success of the bank led people to believe that it was all owing to the issuing of paper money when the true cause was the prosperity of the country. In consequence, the "Farmers Bank of Lancaster" was founded, with a capital stock of \$300,000; others rapidly followed and great excitement prevailed.

In 1812 the capital of the banks had risen to nearly \$80,000,000, and there were already eighty-eight banks in existence. After the declaration of war with England (June, 1812) there was a great demand for dollar pieces, owing to the East Indian and Chinese trade, and when this demand was made for coin, it was a warning to the banks, who found it difficult to meet the demands of their creditors by redeeming their notes in gold or silver.

The war, however, put a stop to the exportation of precious metals, and to a certain degree limited the circulation of paper, consequently loans, and enormous sums of money were distributed among individuals and among the states. Trade everywhere was stimulated, people were carried away with speculation, and every one seemed to indulge in golden dreams.

In Pennsylvania in 1813 forty-one banks with a capital of \$17,000,000 were authorized by a large majority. The banks soon discovered the method of discounting their own stock. They thus increased the amount of notes, which depreciated in comparison with hard money, and dissipated on all sides the hope of exchanging with it, and in the absence of the demand from abroad for hard money, the demand came from within our own borders.

All remittances in New England could only be made in hard money, and the laws of New England compelled all banks to pay a penalty of 12 per cent. upon the annual interest payments of those persons who did not pay their notes. Consequently the banks were not able to respond to the demands for redemption, and hence suspension of the banks followed.



The Maryland Shilling. Coined in 1659 by Lord Baltimore.

Different Commodities Used as Money.

Any article of wealth—*i. e.* anything which has value—may be used as money. Tin was thus employed in ancient Syracuse and Britain, while to the same purpose we find iron in Sparta, cattle in Rome and Germany, a preparation of leather among the Carthaginians, platinum in Russia, lead in Burmah, nails in Scotland, pieces of silk among the



**Massachusetts Cent,
1787.**



**Connecticut Cent,
1785.**

Chinese, cubes of pressed tea in Tartary, salt in Abyssinia, cowrie-shells on the coast of Africa, slaves among the Anglo-Saxons, tobacco in Virginia, codfish in Newfoundland, bullets and wampum in the early history of Massachusetts, logwood in Campeachy, sugar in the West Indies, soap in Mexico, etc. But from the time of Abraham, when he paid (Gen. xxiii., 16) to the children of Heth 400 shekels of silver, "current money with the merchant"—the earliest historical record of a purchase with money till now, gold and silver have been the money with civilized and commercial people.

Philosophy and Laws that Govern and Control the Value of Money.

1. Good Government.—The great majority of people desire good government, and they work and vote with a view of securing the same. Parties are organized by men for the purpose of promulgating ideas, which if carried into effect, will give the people good government.

2. Trusts and Combinations of Capital.—The people give to members of Congress the power to act for them and to protect their interests in all legislation. No sooner, however, is a party installed in office and power than men who have associated themselves together and organized corporations, trusts and combinations of capital, seek to secure such legislation at the hands of Congress as will be favorable to their respective interests.

3. Philosophy of Money.—The legislation on the part of Congress concerning money has been secured by very questionable methods, and while there has been very much public discussion on the subject at times the people seem to have no adequate conception of the philosophy of money and the laws that govern and control the value of money. Most congressmen have no clearer understanding of the subject than the people whom they represent, and they are, therefore, easily persuaded to adopt the theories and conclusions of the "great financiers" of this country and of Europe, and to enact the same into laws.



4. No Greater Question.—There is no greater or more important question for the consideration of men at this time in this country than the money question. It is the paramount question and the one that is the least understood by the people. It affects all interests and all classes of people. Never before in the history of this country has the question been so generally considered by the people as at the present time. As much as there has been written and said on the subject during the past thirty years, the people have apparently learned nothing concerning the matter. The trouble has been that the people have followed the advice of those who have secured financial legislation in their own interests, and they have refrained from investigating the question themselves, and therefore have not learned or become familiar with the laws that govern and control money and its value. Instead of thinking and acting for themselves they have permitted others to think and act for them upon the subject. They have been so busily engaged in the pursuit of money that they have had no time to consider the philosophy of money or the laws affecting money, and are quite content to turn the whole matter over to the "able and successful financier."

5. Financial Panics.—Financial panics come and go, and still people do not seem to understand what it is that pro-

duces them. During such times one hears on every hand the statements that "times are hard," "money is scarce," "there is no business," and the like. All sorts of reasons are given for financial panics except the right one. Among the various reasons alleged are "overproduction," "lack of confidence," "tinkering with tariff," "extravagance of the people," "too much money," "change of administration," "too much immigration," etc.

6. **The Money Owners and the Owners of Bonds** issued by nations and municipalities understand full well what it is that produces financial panics. It is they, and they alone, who, through the manipulation of the volume of the money and the legislation affecting the same produce financial panics. Their greatest opportunity for making money is during the period of a money famine, and the more frequently they occur the more of the wealth of the world they are able to secure. Such people make no public speeches, write no essays and they are not interviewed by newspapers on the subject of money. They employ others to do that work for them. They have more effective methods of securing what they want, and those methods are not understood by the people. The people feel the effect, but they do not comprehend the cause of a financial panic. They fail to understand that a financial panic is simply a money famine, and that it is produced by the retirement of a large volume of money from circulation in the country where the panic occurs. No financial panic ever was, or ever can be produced, in this or any other country, except by taking out of circulation a large volume of money.

7. **All Money the Creature of Law.**—All money, except such as is used by common consent is the creature of law, manufactured and put in circulation by the government in pursuance of law. Under our Constitution money may be coined out of any material that Congress may designate, and when any material is manufactured into money by the government in pursuance of law and made a legal tender for all debts, public and private, such money becomes, when put in circulation, a medium of exchange. But we must remember that money has two essentially distinct offices. First, it is a *medium of exchange*; and second, it is a *measure of values*. A measure of anything must have the property which it attempts to measure. That is, value can be measured only by that which has value. We speak of greenbacks and bank bills as money; so they are in the broader sense as media of exchange; but they have no value in themselves; their value lies in what they represent.

The national government designates what shall be the media of exchange, and says how much of one of these media shall be the unit of measure for values, but it has no power to place a value on that measuring unit. It may attempt so to do, but it will fail. Nature's laws are above those of man.

The law may say that certain coins of gold and silver, and certain forms of debts, as greenbacks and bank bills, shall be the media of exchange. Also, that a certain number of grains, coined gold (the dollar) shall be the standard, but it can not place a value upon the gold in the dollar. The laws of demand and supply do that.

8. Price is value measured by a standard. The price of an individual piece of merchandise depends upon supply and demand for these goods. The average price of all objects of value entering into free competition in the world's markets depends upon the value of the gold in the dollar—the measuring unit of all values.

9. Making Money.—People talk about making money in some enterprise, as though they really made, manufactured it; but, of course, that is only a figure of speech.

If the government had never made any money, other means would have been resorted to in order to effect exchanges of property.

10. Prices Rise and Fall.—Money is the blood of commerce. Its quantity must be sufficient for health; its quality must be good; its circulation should be natural and free. Too much money in circulation leads to extravagance and speculation; in due time comes re-action and panic. Insufficient money with which to meet the demands of legitimate business brings a congested condition of the money market.

11. The purchasing power of money depends upon the value of the circulating medium itself. Cheap money makes dear goods and high wages; but it pays debts more easily. Dear money brings cheap goods and lower wages. In short, after the financial conditions are fully adjusted to a sound financial system, the question of the kind of money plays but a small part in business. Money is an expression of ratio between values. The ratio should be as firmly fixed as possible. When that is done, money has little to do with its second function—to measure values. This leaves the laws of trade to act freely and naturally. Prices rise and fall because of demand and supply, and not according to the changing ratio of money.

12. Money Famine.—There are three classes of people who are always benefited by a money famine—the money

owner and the bond holder out of debt, the annuitant and recipient of fixed incomes, and public officers and others who receive fixed salaries. The amount such people receive by way of income or salary, or interest enables them to buy more and more property and labor as the prices of property and labor fall. Nearly all such people are anxious to have property decrease in price, since they would then be able to live better and purchase more with their money. Those who are benefited most are they who receive the largest incomes. The money owners and bondholders are among those who have secured legislation in this country under which a large portion of the volume of money in the country has been destroyed, by reason of which prices of property and labor in general have fallen more than one-half since 1869.

13. **Falling Prices.**—It is to the interest of the money owner and bondholder out of debt, and the man with fixed income, to have a constantly shrinking volume of money, for the reason that there would be constantly falling prices and therefore they would be able to live better and better, year by year, at less and less cost. Such people, and those who depend upon them, are they who are working assiduously to prevent the manufacture on the part of the government of more money and at the present time they are having their own way about the matter.

14. **The Panic of 1857** was brought about by an act of Congress demonetizing more than \$200,000,000 of foreign coin, which up to February 21, 1857, had been a legal tender, under act of Congress, in this country, for all debts, public and private, and for no other cause whatever.

15. **The Panic of 1873** was produced by the destruction, under the laws of Congress, of more than \$1,900,000,000 of paper money and the act of February 12, 1873, which prohibited the further manufacture of silver into money. The destruction of money continued under said acts of Congress after that panic commenced until the Bland act was passed in 1878, which authorized the manufacture of silver into dollars at the rate of not less than two million a month. If it had not been for that law what would have been the condition of the country now? No human being can tell.

16. **The Panic of 1893** was made possible by the laws enacted by Congress concerning money since April 12, 1866. The question is, What produced the panic of 1893? Many say it was "want of confidence," "fear of tariff legislation," "Democratic ascendancy and incompetency" and "fear of destroying the tariff or changing it in such a way as to destroy protected interests." All such statements are the merest twaddle. Everybody has confidence in money, but

nobody seems to have had confidence in property, for the simple reason that property was constantly falling in price. All the property in the country was ready to be exchanged for money, and everybody seemed to be anxious to get money, but was unable to do so. The manufacturer could not employ men because he had no money with which to pay them. He was perfectly willing to manufacture, but he was unable to sell his products when manufactured, because the consumer had no money to buy his products. There was an abundance of labor. Men were willing and anxious to work, but there was no money with which to pay them, and, therefore, they were idle. Merchants were anxious and willing to sell their wares, but they could not do so because the people had no money with which to purchase them. What was the trouble then? Simply and solely a scarcity of money! It was stated upon every hand that there was just as much money in the country as ever. This statement was not true; but if it were true, it does not follow that there was enough money, or that the shortage of money had not produced this condition.

17. *The Panic of 1893 was doubtless caused by the fear of the working of the Sherman Silver-Purchasing Act of 1890. By this act the national government was compelled to purchase a certain amount of silver each month, and to issue silver certificates for the bullion thus brought into the national treasury. It was feared that, if these purchases continued, we would soon be on a silver basis. There were, perhaps, many other minor causes for the panic, but the fundamental cause was, in this, as in others, the disturbing influence of doubt as to the medium of exchange.*

18. *The Evil Results of the Panic of 1893.*—Run on banks caused many of them to fail, factories and machine-shops closed, or run on short time. Workmen were thrown out of employment. All the sufferings common to all panics fell on the nation. The depressing effects of this panic dragged its slow length along for several years.

19. *The Panic of 1893 the Same as 1873.*—The panic of 1893 is simply a continuation of the panic of 1873. The panic of 1893 was produced in the same way that all other panics are produced, viz.: By taking out of circulation a large volume of money; nothing more or nothing less. The question is how was it done? Easy enough! The quantity of money in this country is so small that the retirement of a small amount from circulation would produce a panic at any time. Indeed, for years panics have been averted by the Secretary of the Treasury from time to time coming to the relief of

Wall street and paying out of the treasury large sums of money to assist the banks and moneyed men in Wall street in their financial troubles. Was this paternalism? If not, what was it?

20. Value of All Property.—It is estimated that the value of all the property of this country, real, personal and mixed, is about \$64,000,000,000. It is safe to say that the price of all this property has shrunk since January 1, 1893, as a consequence of this financial panic not less than \$10,000,000,000, and possibly a great deal more, saying nothing of the loss of wealth that might have been created by the millions of men who have been forced out of employment since the panic commenced.

Dimensions of All the Gold and Silver in the World or Proportions of the Metals.

1. Gold and Silver.—We find on authority of the direct- or of the United States mint that all the gold (coin and bullion) in the world in 1890, available for money, was less than \$3,900,000,000, or in weight 188,651,368 ounces. Also that all of the silver (coin and bullion) so available was practically \$3,820,000,000 or, 2,954,558,290 ounces.

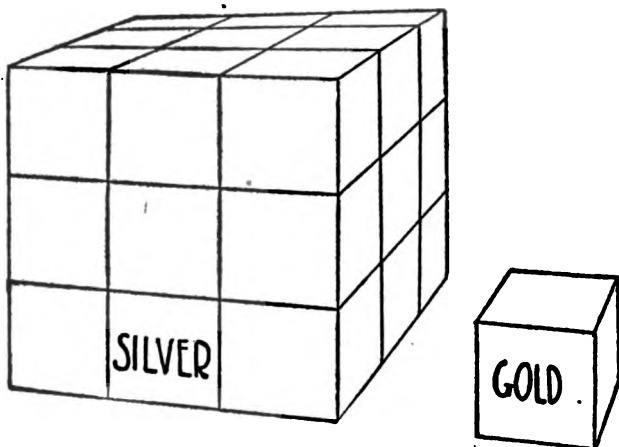
There are therefore in existence practically (less than) 16 ounces of silver for each ounce of gold, and, at this ratio less than \$80,000,000 difference between the total values of the two metals.

2. Both Metals Equally Imperishable.—The silver man says, both metals being equally imperishable and otherwise fitted for use as the basis of more convenient money than either, is it right and healthy that gold should be double in purchasing power, while silver, the world-wide money metal of the middle and poorer classes, is robbed of its money value and debased?

3. Bulk.—But what of the alleged overbulkiness of silver? All of the gold in the world available for money, cast in a solid block, would scarcely equal a cube of 22 feet, while all the silver so available would make a solid cube of but 66 feet, neither one very large, and the accompanying sketch not only disposes of the "bulk" bugaboo, but suggests several pertinent questions—for instance:

Which, a national currency based upon the smaller cube (gold) or one sustained by both cubes (gold and silver), would be the most stable, elastic, and least readily cornered and speculated with?

**DIMENSIONS OF ALL GOLD AND SILVER IN THE
WORLD AVAILABLE FOR MONEY IF
CAST IN SOLID CUBES.**



Size, 66 x 66 x 66 feet 22 x 22 x 22 feet
Weight, 2,934,558 240 ounces 188,651,368 ounces

Ratio in size $\frac{\text{Silver}}{27} = \frac{\text{Gold}}{1}$
Ratio in weight 15% . $\frac{1}{2}$





**The First United States Coins 1783. Silver
Weight, 110 Grains.**

Chief Coins of the United States.

The dollar is the unit of the United States.

The United States has six gold coins, as follows:

The eagle, value \$10; the double-eagle, authorized by act of Congress, March 3, 1849; the half-eagle, act of Congress, 1837; the \$3 piece, act of 1853; quarter-eagle, act of January, 1837; and the \$1 piece, act of Congress, March 3, 1849.

The eagle, half-eagle and quarter-eagle were first authorized by act of Congress, 1792.

The gold dollar, being so small as to be inconvenient, is used for specimens only. This coin was largely issued in 1849, when there was a great influx of gold from California.

Our silver coins are as follows:

The dollar, act of 1837; the half-dollar, act of 1853, and legal tender not exceeding \$5; the quarter-dollar, also legal tender not exceeding \$5; the dime and half-dime, legal tender not exceeding \$1. The three-cent piece, legal tender for 30 cents, proved too small for convenient use, as did the half-dime.

The twenty-cent piece was too near the size of a quarter of a dollar, and its coinage was discontinued.

The first silver dollar of the United States was authorized by act of Congress, 1792, and coined in 1796. The half-dollar and quarter-dollar were first authorized in 1792.

The 5-cent piece of the United States is made of copper and nickel, authorized by act of May, 1866, legal tender to the amount of a dollar.

The cent is 88 per cent. copper and 12 per cent. nickel, authorized by act of 1857.

The two-cent piece, same date, is legal tender to the amount of 20 cents; the one-cent to the value of 10 cents.

Gold and Silver Coinage Statistics.

The following coinage statistics were compiled by the *Tribune*. These figures show which of the two metals it was the people handled between 1792 and 1877:

Date.	Coinage of gold.	Coinage of silver dollars.
1793-95.....	\$ 71,485	\$ 204,791
1796.....	102,727	72,920
1797.....	103,422	7,776
1798.....	205,610	327,536
1799.....	213,285	423,515
1800.....	317,760	220,920
1801.....	422,570	54,454
1802.....	423,310	41,650
1803.....	258,377	66,064
1804.....	258,642	19,570
1805.....	170,367	321
1806.....	324,505	.....
1807.....	437,495	.....
1808.....	284,665	.....
1809.....	169,375	.....
1810.....	501,435	.....
1811.....	497,905	.....
1812.....	290,435	.....
1813.....	477,140	.....
1814.....	77,270	.....
1815.....	3,175	.....
1816.....	.....	.....
1817.....	.....	.....
1818.....	242,940	.....
1819.....	258,615	.....
1820.....	319,030	.....
1821.....	189,325	.....
1822.....	88,980	.....
1823.....	72,425	.....
1824.....	93,200	.....
1825.....	156,385	.....
1826.....	92,245	.....
1827.....	131,565	.....
1828.....	140,145	.....
1829.....	295,717	.....
1830.....	643,105	.....
1831.....	714,270	.....
1832.....	798,435	.....
1833.....	978,550	.....
1834.....	954,270	.....
1835.....	186,175	.....

Only 1,300 silver dollars were coined between 1806 and 1835, inclusive, after Jefferson suppressed them.

Date.	Coinage of gold.	Coinage of silver dollars.
1836.....	135,700	1,000
1837.....	148,905	.....
1838.....	809,595	.....
1839.....	1,355,885	900
1840.....	1,675,302	61,005
1841.....	1,091,597	173,000
1842.....	1,834,170	184,618
1843.....	8,108,797	165,100
1844.....	5,428,230	20,000
1845.....	3,756,447	24,500
1846.....	4,034,177	169,600
1847.....	20,221,385	140,750
1848.....	3,775,512	15,000
1849.....	9,007,761	62,600
1850.....	31,981,738	47,500
1851.....	62,614,492	1,300
1852.....	56,846,187	1,100
1853.....	39,377,909	46,110
1854.....	25,915,918	33,140
1855.....	28,977,968	26,000
1856.....	36,697,768	63,500
1857.....	15,811,563	94,000
1858.....	30,253,725	.....
1859.....	17,296,077	288,500
1860.....	16,445,476	600,530
1861.....	60,693,237	559,900
1862.....	45,532,386	1,750
1863.....	20,695,852	31,400
1864.....	21,649,345	23,170
1865.....	25,107,217	32,900
1866.....	28,313,945	58,550
1867.....	28,217,187	57,000
1868.....	18,114,425	54,800
1869.....	21,828,637	231,350
1870.....	22,257,312	588,308
1871.....	21,302,475	657,929
1872.....	20,376,495	1,112,961
1873.....	35,249,337	977,150
1874.....	50,442,690	"Crime" p'd.
1875.....	33,553,965	"Crime" p'd.
1876.....	38,178,962	"Crime" p'd.
1877.....	44,078,199	"Crime" p'd.
Total.....	\$983,159,695	\$8,045,838

Total coinage of trade dollars, 1874-77, 24,581,350.

A Complete History of Gold and Silver Legislation in the United States.

1. England's Double Standard.—When the Puritans came to Massachusetts Bay in 1630, England alone of all the nations of Europe was endeavoring to maintain the double standard. In all continental countries silver was the accepted standard. England struggled for years with bimetallic difficulties in its attempt to sustain the two metals. In 1798 the coinage of silver was suspended and the reception of silver to be coined prohibited. Gold becomes the single standard of a country when the mints are closed to private coinage of other metals, and consequently the gold standard was formally adopted in 1816.

Silver is still legal tender in Great Britain, but only to the amount of £2.

2. Bimetallism in the United States.—The experience of the government of the United States with bimetallism during the first eighty years of its history was somewhat similar to that of France. It had a theoretical double standard, but was practically monometallic. The two political enemies, Hamilton and Jefferson, agreed that both metals should be used, and that the ratio should be 15 to 1. Both metals were agreed upon, because gold and silver had been the money metals of the world.

3. Silver Monometallism.—The first coinage act of this country was passed in 1792, but the first silver was actually coined in 1794. From 1792 to 1834 we really had silver monometallism under a double standard. Gold disappeared from circulation. Specie payments were suspended in 1814 and metallic money was practically unknown.

4. Gold Monometallism.—From 1834 to 1873 we have practically had gold monometallism under a double standard. In 1834 a movement began in the interest of gold. Congress changed the ratio from 15 to 1 to 16 to 1. Silver became the more valuable metal and disappeared from circulation. Silver coins were exported largely from this country.

5. Act of 1873.—When the act of 1873 was passed extraordinary movements affecting currency were going on everywhere. Silver had been demonetized before that time. That act was a mere formal declaration of a fact. After 1873 and until 1878 the country was not only in fact but in law on a gold basis.

6. Silver Interests Advanced.—Gold was the native product that appealed successfully to Congress for protection, but for various reasons by 1876 silver was becoming the national metal. In that year Colorado was admitted as a state. The silver interests thus secured two senators in Congress. One of these was Henry M. Teller, who is still a member of the body, and is an able and experienced advocate of the cause of the free coinage of silver. The Bland bill, passed in 1878, provided for the coinage of not less than \$2,000,000 worth of silver bullion or not more than \$4,000,000 worth "at the market price thereof, the bullion to be coined into 412½ grain dollars." Free coinage was defeated. President Hayes vetoed the bill, but on the same day that he vetoed it both houses passed it over his veto. Under this act the treasury never coined more than \$2,000,000 worth of silver a month.

7. Bill of Free Coinage.—The friends of silver were not satisfied. They insisted that the government should do something more for their favorite metal. On June 17, 1890, the senate passed a free coinage bill by a vote of 42 to 25. The house did not concur and there was a compromise measure agreed upon by a conference committee, which became a law, known as the Sherman act. This law required the monthly purchase of 4,500,000 ounces, and the coinage every month of 2,000,000 ounces of the bullion so purchased until July 1, 1891. After that, bars were to be coined for the redemption of the legal tender treasury notes authorized by the act. The act recited further that it was the "established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other."

8. Effect of Sherman Act.—The operations of the Sherman law were quickly felt. Holders of American securities became alarmed, lest they would be obliged to accept payment in silver, and a general hoarding and exportation of gold followed. The business disaster which followed the loss of confidence in our securities and inevitably in each other, and in everything else that usually commands the respect of business men, will not so speedily and readily be disposed of as desired.

9. Repeal of Sherman Act.—Congress was called together in the summer of 1893 for the purpose of repealing the Sherman act. After many vexatious delays, involving disaster and loss to the business interests of the country, a bill was passed unconditionally repealing the purchasing clause of the law.

10. Bimetallism not Practical.—Thus, from 1792 to 1873, the country experimented with a nominal double standard.

Since 1873 there has been a single standard, but since 1878 more silver has been in use than in the old days of the double standard, when the silver dollar was worth 103 cents and would not circulate, and, therefore, the cheaper 100-cent gold dollar drove it out. That is the weakness of the double standard. If the two metals are not tied together so closely that they do not pull apart, one is sure to get the better of the other. As they have equal debt-paying power the cheaper metal will be given the preference for that purpose, and will drive the other out, as gold did silver. The only way to prevent that, and keep both in circulation, is for the government to guarantee that the coins of the cheaper metal shall be redeemed in the other if desired, and thus kept at a parity. Whether a government can give such a guarantee with safety depends on the number of coins and the extent of the divergence in values. This government will not guarantee to redeem innumerable 50-cent silver dollars in gold dollars, and if it permitted the former to be coined, without a guarantee, all the gold would disappear at once.

II. *Reflections.*—These developments raise the point as to whether the whole question of bimetallism as compared with a single standard either of gold or silver, is not being satisfactorily answered by the course of events outside of legislation. From now on the offices of legislation are two—either so to adapt the administrative functions as to effectuate the rapidly developing unwritten law of commerce, and thus to keep a people at the very fore front of civilization; or, either to refuse thus to serve it, or to obstruct it in serving itself, thereby keeping it at an increasing disadvantage. We must look to commercial development rather than to legislative, for signs which are to frame our expectations.

Legal Tender.

The term "legal tender" is a technical expression signifying that which the law prescribes to be paid or tendered in order to discharge a debt, satisfy a judgment, fulfill a money contract or pay taxes.

The very object of a legal tender law must necessarily be to establish a fixed measure or standard by which the value repaid or returned may be compared with and made equal to the value received. Hence, when a law gives legal tender force to several kinds of money, these kinds of money must always be preserved at equal value, for if they

are not so preserved the nature of the legal tender law is violated and its object defeated.

The Motor of Industry is not money but money's worth, not the dollar but the dollar's worth, not the name of the coin but its value; equality of value not the same substance is what justice asks.

What "16 to 1" Means.

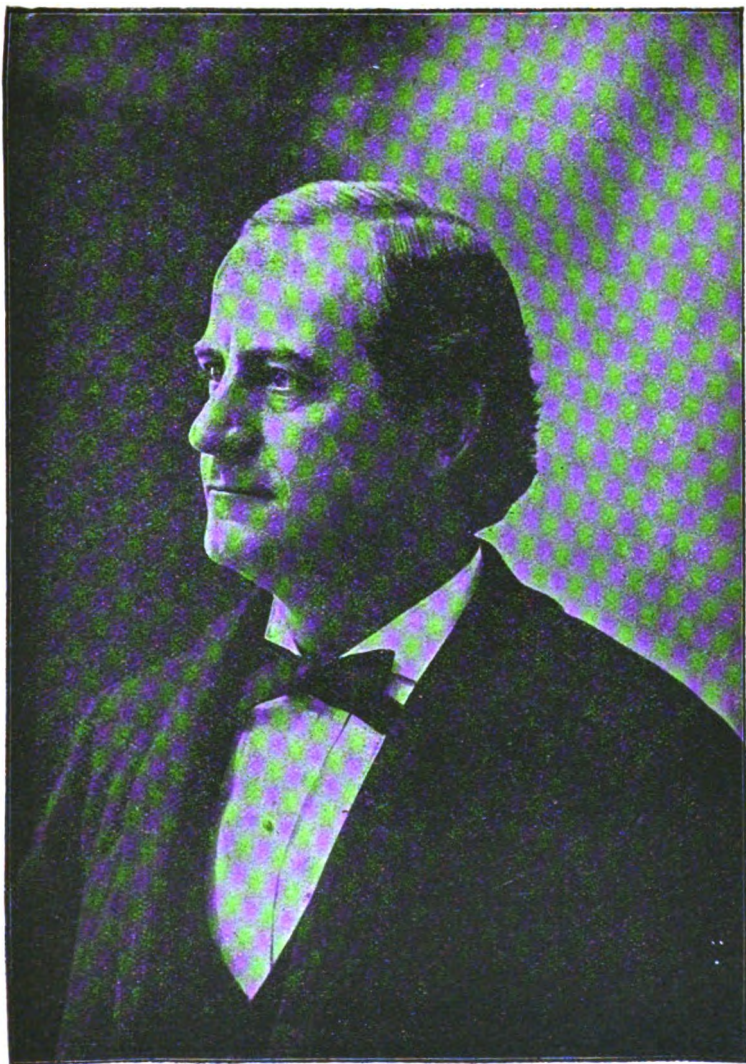
People who do not keep themselves closely informed upon current political discussion, sometimes ask what is meant by the phrase, "16 to 1," so often heard nowadays, in connection with financial discussions. We append a brief explanation.

The standard gold dollar of the United States weighs 25.8 grains, and nine tenths of this, or 23.22 grains is *pure gold*. The standard silver dollar weighs 412.5 grains, and nine tenths of this, or 371.25 grains, is *pure silver*. Dividing the 371.25 grains of pure silver in a silver dollar by 23.22, the pure gold in a gold dollar gives 15.98 or (practically) 16, the ratio in weight of the two metals used.

The term "16 to 1" means that the pure silver in the standard dollar weighs about sixteen times as much as the pure gold in the gold dollar.

One man said he was in favor of it because, as he understood it, every time the government coined a gold dollar they coined sixteen silver dollars. That was his idea. Now, "16 to 1" simply means this: That the value of an ounce of gold shall by law be equal to the value of sixteen ounces of silver. It means that weight by weight a gold dollar will weigh one-sixteenth as much as a silver dollar. If you want to change the ratio you can either put more silver into the dollar or take some gold out of the gold dollar. That is a thing that is fixed by law.

At the time of the establishment of the United States mint Congress agreed that the ratio between gold and silver should be as between fifteen pounds to one pound, this being at that time the relative value of the two metals. It was subsequently found that this ratio gave too high a value to silver. It was accordingly changed in 1834 to 16 to 1. By this action Congress jumped on the other side of the stream. In European countries the ratio had been fixed at 15½ to 1. As a result the silver owners of the United States shipped all their product to Europe for coinage, and until 1873, when the revision of the coinage laws was made, only about 8,000,000 silver dollars had been coined.



WILLIAM J. BRYAN.
Democratic Candidate for President, 1896 and 1900
Champion of Free Silver.
"No Crown of Thorns, No Cross of Gold."

Under the Bland-Allison act 400,000,000 silver dollars were coined, and these, added to the notes issued under the Sherman act, make the total amount of silver in our currency more than \$500,000,000, all on a 16 to 1 ratio.

At the present time the value of the silver in the markets of the world is about thirty pounds of the white metal to one of gold. Our people would, therefore, under the ratio of 16 to 1 have 53-cent dollars, which might circulate for their face value in the United States, but which would only be accepted at their bullion value abroad.

Free Coinage.

But there is another matter involved in the present currency discussion which is of still more importance than the ratio. That is the question of the "free coinage" of silver. By free coinage, is meant the right of the owner of any money metal to take the same to a government mint and have it coined into money, or what amounts to the same thing, to exchange it for money at the legal coinage ratio. Formerly, the law gave this right to all owners of both gold and silver bullion, but in 1873 this law was repealed so far as it applied to silver, so that the privilege of "free coinage" now applies to gold alone.

We have the free coinage of gold now. That simply means that if you have a piece of gold bullion you can take it to the mint and have it converted into gold and the gold will be handed back to you. Now, what we mean by free coinage is to give silver the same rights you give to gold. If a man has a silver bullion let him take the bullion to the mint, have it converted into coin, and let him take his silver dollar back with him. That is what free coinage means.

Since 1873, the silver money of the United States has been coined from silver purchased by the government in the open market. The "free coinage" advocates demand that the mints shall be open to gold and silver alike.

So when a man says he is in favor of "free coinage at a ratio of 16 to 1," he means that he wants the government to coin into lawful money, all the gold and silver bullion that may be offered at the mint, and at such a proportion that there will be sixteen times as much (by weight) of pure silver in a silver dollar as there is of pure gold in a gold dollar.

Unlimited coinage means that there shall be no legal restriction upon the amount of gold or silver that will be coined. In other words, that the amount shall depend, not upon the legislation, but upon the amount of bullion brought to the mint.

Bimetallism.

Bimetallism is simply the use of two metals instead of one, and a ratio at which they are coined is a question to be settled by law. Bimetallism may exist at any ratio. It has existed at different ratios from time to time. The ratio is to be fixed by the government for the benefit of the people, who must use money. The present ratio is 16 to 1.

Bimetallism means that you use two metals at any ratio and thus give to both metals equal privileges at the mint.

Silver Demonetization.

In 1853 Congress passed a law making the silver dollar a legal tender for five dollars only. At that time the silver dollar was more valuable than the gold dollar. In 1873 a law was passed totally demonetizing silver, except as used in the smaller coins; that is, there was to be no more free coinage of silver dollars.

The change was the more easily made as neither gold nor silver circulated at the time, greenbacks being the basis of all values in the United States.

About the same time Germany demonetized silver. A few years later France and the Latin Union stopped the coinage of silver, but did not demonetize it. England has had the single gold standard since 1816.

Most people believe in bimetallism, but differ as to the best method of reaching and sustaining it.

The free silver people think the old free silver law should be restored. Others reply that the silver dollar would become the standard of value, and gold would be at a premium, or would disappear altogether as money. In that case the creditor would be compelled to receive what is due him in depreciated money. This would be as unjust as to make the debtor pay in appreciated money.

In reply, the free silver people say, that, if the mints be opened to free coinage, the silver dollar would become as valuable as the gold dollar, because the gold dollar would then decrease and the silver increase until the coins would become approximately equal in purchasing power.

The two classes of thinkers agree that both gold and silver are needed to meet the demands of the commercial world. But the problem is to place the two metals on an absolute equality before the law, and, at the same time, maintain a single standard of values, which standard shall be the dollar whose commercial value, as bullion, is the greater. In due time this problem will be solved.

The Volume of Money.

1. **Two Theories.**—Much controversy exists as to what volume of money should be maintained in the United States. How much money is necessary for our prosperity. There are two theories—one called the "*per capita* requirement," which is, in effect, that the volume of money in a country should increase in proportion as the increase in the total number of inhabitants; the second theory is, that the volume or amount of currency should increase with increased wealth.

2. **The Per Capita Theory.**—If this is the true theory then let us first inquire whether there really is, or can be, any relation between the number of people in a country and the amount of money, coins and notes, existing at any particular time. If there is no such relation then how can this theory stand? The table on the opposite page may aid us in this inquiry.

This table conclusively shows that no such relation of currency to population exists. If it does not exist in countries, it requires no great powers of reasoning to conclude that it also fails when applied to smaller communities, the state, the city, the town, the house.

3. **Makes Money Plentiful.**—Many people favor this theory, for as the population increases there is an argument for increased issues of money by the government, and they think if money is plentiful prosperity is promoted. Simply making money plentiful cannot influence an increased demand for any man's labor or products. A merchant may have thousands of men of wealth passing his store every day without selling them anything, while he may be doing a paying business with the laborers and men of small means. As the money in the pockets of the wealthy in this case brings no prosperity to the merchant, so money lying in the bank or in the treasury will bring prosperity to no man.

4. **Confidence Weakened.**—An unnecessary increase in the amount of currency tends to unsettle values and disturb trade. The money-lender becomes fearful and withholds his money from circulation and people say it is scarce again.

5. **No Limit.**—At this rate the government that continually increases the volume of money without very good reasons will always be urged to increase its currency so as to have better times. Such a government might find itself like a horse going down hill with a load but without brakes on the wagon, he goes faster and faster with every step, but at the same time increases the speed that is driving him to ruin.

THE VOLUME OF MONEY.

Approximate Supply of Currency in the Aggregate and per capita in the Principal Countries in the World.

COUNTRIES.	POPULATION.	STOCK OF GOLD.	STOCK OF SILVER.	UNCOVERED PAPER.	GOLD—PER CAPITA.	SILVER—PER CAPITA.	PAPER—PER CAPITA.	BANK CREDITS—PER CAPITA.	TOTAL—PER CAPITA.
United States.....	68,800,000	\$928,600,000	\$628,800,000	\$475,700,000	\$ 9 09	\$ 9 08	\$ 6 80	\$ 80 50	\$108 57
United Kingdom...	38,800,000	550,000,000	112,000,000	113,400,000	14 18	2 88	2 62	120 00	139 98
France.....	38,800,000	828,000,000	492,200,000	88,000,000	21 54	12 85	2 51	85 00	71 70
Germany.....	49,400,000	628,000,000	215,000,000	88,000,000	12 65	4 35	1 78	25 00	48 78
Belgium.....	6,200,000	55,000,000	54,900,000	51,200,000	8 87	8 85	8 26	25 00	50 98
Italy.....	30,500,000	98,000,000	80,000,000	167,600,000	3 15	98	5 50	18 00	27 63
Switzerland.....	2,800,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	16,800,000	5 17	5 17	5 72	30 00	46 06
Spain.....	17,500,000	40,000,000	166,000,000	107,100,000	2 29	9 48	6 13	14 00	31 89
Portugal.....	4,700,000	88,900,000	24,800,000	55,500,000	8 27	5 28	11 51	11 00	36 96
Austria-Hungary...	48,200,000	180,000,000	121,000,000	146,300,000	3 00	2 81	3 88	19 00	28 19
Netherlands.....	4,700,000	27,600,000	56,500,000	85,900,000	5 87	12 02	7 64	22 50	48 08
Norway.....	2,000,000	7,800,000	1,900,000	3,800,000	3 65	95	1 95	15 00	21 55
Sweden.....	4,800,000	6,500,000	4,800,000	16,500,000	1 85	1 00	8 44	26 50	32 29
Denmark.....	2,200,000	14,200,000	5,400,000	5,400,000	6 46	2 45	2 45	58 00	69 36
Russia and Finland.	124,000,000	455,000,000	48,000,000	580,000,000	3 67	2 88	4 27	6 00	14 82

6. **Not Volume but Rapidity.**—While the great majority of people are led to favor the per capita theory, there is a failure to realize that rapidity and smoothness of circulation, not amount or volume, gives effect to currency.

7. **The True Theory.**—That the amount of currency should increase with the wealth of the nation is a theory that can easily be substantiated. The quantity of money in circulation should be determined by the extent of need for its use. Prosperity and business activity and even the effectual supply of currency depend upon confidence in the quality rather than in the quantity of circulating coin or notes.

Sound Money.

Hon. John G. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury, delivered a speech on sound money at the Auditorium, Chicago, April 15, 1896, from which we quote the following:

1. **Affects Poor Man.**—It is the poor man, and the man of moderate means, the man who has not been fortunate enough to accumulate property or money, but who depends upon his wages, or upon the products of his own labor, for the means of supporting himself and his family, that always feels the first and most disastrous effects of a business or industrial depression, no matter whether it results from a depreciated and fluctuating currency or from other causes.

2. **Labor His Capital.**—Such a man has nothing to dispose of but his labor, and nothing with which to support himself or his family but the wages or the proceeds of his own labor, and any policy that even temporarily suspends or obstructs the industrial progress of the country, by diminishing the demand for the products of labor, or by impairing the capacity or disposition of capital to employ labor, must be injurious to his interests, and must inflict more or less suffering upon all who are dependent upon him.

3. **Labor Must be Steady.**—Labor cannot be hoarded; the idle day is gone forever; lost wages are never reimbursed; and therefore steady employment and good pay in good money are essential to the comfort and happiness of the American laborer and his wife and children, and he will be unfaithful to himself and to them if he does not insist upon the adoption and maintenance of such a policy as will most certainly preserve the value and stability of all our currency, and promote the regular and profitable conduct of all our industrial enterprises.

4. **Financial Depression Brings Ruin.**—He cannot prosper when the country is in distress, when its industries are prostrated, its commerce paralyzed, its credit broken down, or its social order disturbed; nor can he prosper when the fluctuations of the currency are such that he cannot certainly know the value of the dollar in which his wages are paid, or estimate in advance the cost of the necessities of life.

5. **Silver Advocates.**—Their naked proposition is that the United States shall coin, at the public expense, for the exclusive benefit of the individuals and corporations owning the bullion, all the silver that may be presented at the mints into dollars worth about 51 or 52 cents, and compel all the other people in the country to receive these coins at a valuation of 100 cents each in the payments of debts due them for property sold, for labor, and services of all kinds.

6. Currency Contracted.—To say nothing of the gross partiality and manifest injustice of such a policy, its immediate effect would be to contract our currency to the extent of about \$620,000,000 by stopping the use of gold as money.

7. Depreciating Currency.—While the sudden expulsion of \$620,000,000 in gold from our stock of money would itself be sufficient to create a financial disturbance unparalleled in the history of this or any other country, the situation would be very greatly aggravated by the fact that the purchasing power of all the remainder of our currency would be suddenly reduced about one-half; we should have only two-thirds as much currency as we have now, and at the same time it would be so depreciated in value that it would require about twice as much as we have now to transact the business of the country, provided there should be any business to transact.

8. Failure of Double Standard.—The attempt to maintain what is called the double standard of value, that is, the attempt to keep the legal tender coins of the two metals, gold and silver, in use as money at the same time, upon the ratio of value fixed by law, has repeatedly been made by kings and parliaments in every civilized country in the world, and it has failed again and again in every one of them; and it requires no gift of prophecy to foresee that it must continue to fail so long as self-interest constitutes a controlling factor in the business affairs of men.

9. Value of Money.—Money received for wages, like money received on every other account, is valuable only to the extent that it can be exchanged for other commodities, and it is scarcely necessary to suggest that a dollar worth 50 cents will not purchase as much in the markets as a dollar worth 100 cents.

10. Affects Past Earnings as Well.—If the solution of this question affected only the character and amount and purchasing power of the future earnings of the American laborer, it would still be a subject of the greatest importance to him; but its importance is greatly increased by the fact that the safety and value of a very considerable part of his past earnings are also involved. The thrifty and provident working man, anticipating a time when he may be disabled or deprived of employment, has endeavored to save something out of his earnings in order to provide for the comfort of his wife and children in the future, and has laid it away at home or deposited it in a bank or building association, or invested it in a life insurance policy, or loaned to some friend in whom he has confidence.

11. Banks and Trust Companies.—The banks, trust companies, building associations, and other similar institutions owe the people of the United States today \$5,353,138,521 for money actually deposited, a sum nearly eight times greater than the total capital of all the national banks in the country; while the life insurance policies held by the people in the various kinds of corporations and associations and in force today amount to \$10,213,804,357, a larger sum than there has been actually invested in all our railroads, and about fifteen times larger than the capital of all the national banks.

12. Means 52 Cents on a Dollar.—In view of these facts, which cannot be successfully disputed, I submit that you ought seriously to consider all the consequences to yourselves and your fellow-citizens before you agree to the free and unlimited coinage of legal tender silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, in order that these great corporations and associations may have the privilege of discharging their debts to the people by paying 51 to 52 cents on the dollar, for that is exactly what it means.

13. Utter Ruin.—But if free and unlimited coinage of legal tender silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 is established in this country a very large part of the money deposited in these various kinds of savings institutions will not be repaid in depreciated silver, but will be wholly lost, because such a reckless monetary system would precipitate a financial panic, which very few, if any, of the depositories could survive.

14. Not Possible in America.—It cannot be possible that in the closing years of the nineteenth century and in this great and free republic, the people themselves, will imitate the bad examples set by the corrupt potentates of Europe, who have made their names forever odious in history by debasing the money of their subjects and robbing the industrious poor of the just rewards of their labor.

Free Silver.

The following are extracts from a speech delivered by Hon. Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, in the Senate of the United States, January 22, 1896.

1. Danger Ahead.—I do not suppose there has ever been a time in our history when the productive enterprises of the country were less remunerative than at this hour.

But this has been our condition now for a number of years. It is morally certain that something is wrong; it is morally certain we cannot continue in this condition much longer.

2. Lack of Confidence.—The President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury tell us that the entire difficulty arises from the lack of confidence in the money of the country. If that be true, then it behooves us to address ourselves without delay to changing this condition and to securing a proper financial system. I do not myself, agree that the trouble which has arisen in this country has grown out of the distrust of the currency. I deny that there is any thing which indicates that the people of the United States distrust the money in circulation; and the statement so made is opposed to the entire history of money.

3. No Depreciating Standard.—I do not believe in depreciating money. I believe in a stable money, and I believe that money is the best which maintains a uniform rate of prices. But if I am to take the two, I shall be in accord with the best minds of the people when I say that a depreciating standard is indefinitely better for us than an appreciating one. An appreciating standard means a paralysis of business, a cessation of enterprise, a destruction of the energies of the country. The other means a stimulus. So of the two it is much better that there should be a depreciation than an appreciation.

4. Mistakes.—Our first mistake was made in 1873, when we deprived ourselves of one half the money metal of the world. The next great mistake was when the Bland bill came into the Senate from the House of Representatives as a free coinage measure, with then a divergency of only eight per cent between the silver and the gold in the markets of the world, that the Senate did not accept the House bill and give the world the benefit of free coinage in the United States. If you had done that there would be no silver question to trouble the world. If you had done that there would be no silver question to trouble you. The United States would have taken care of the surplus of silver until the silver of the world temporarily depressed by the action of Germany, had reached its proper and original mint value.

5. Remedy Needed.—I am not insisting now that there is no other remedy except free coinage, although I do not believe there is; but I am begging my associates in the Senate, who do not believe in free coinage, whether they be on this side or the other, to present the American people in this hour of their distress some common sense system that the honest people of the country will believe is right; some system that shall prevent this government from running into debt. 27

6. Debt Means Decay.—When a nation runs into debt in time of peace it either argues that it has entered upon a decay, that it is deteriorating, or it argues that the administration of public affairs is in the hands of incompetent men. A national debt is a national curse, and if made in time of peace, it is a national disgrace, one that ought to make every American blush. A national debt is inevitable if you are to maintain the gold standard.

7. Cost of Gold Standard.—Our gold is being exported to Europe and will continue to be so exported. It will go in spite of us, and every day we seem to be putting ourselves in a worse position than heretofore. If we attempt to maintain the gold standard we must maintain it with the knowledge of what it is going to cost. I want the American people to know what it is going to cost. I do not believe the American people understand the danger which threatens not only their industrial pursuits, but the very existence of this nation as a free people by the gold standard.

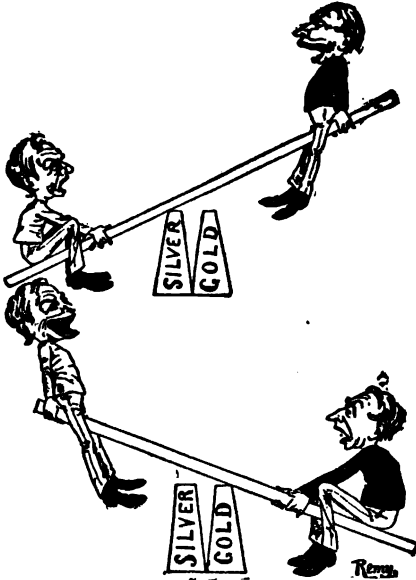


LISTENING TO HARRIS AND HARVEY.

The above represents a farmer who has come a great distance to Chicago to hear the Harris and Harvey debates. Do you see with what avidity he takes in the arguments?

ARGUMENTS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE MONEY QUESTION.

The Gold Side.



"BIMETALLIC" EXERCISE, Makes Monometallism Every Time.

1. **Bimetallism Impossible.**—No economist of any reputation either in this country or in Europe, advocates the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, or any other ratio, by any one nation. There are well-known bimetallists in England, France and Germany, but not one of them advises England or France or Germany alone to adopt the free coinage of silver at any ratio. Nor do any economists of repute in this country advise the United States to this step. It is perfectly well understood by all economists, whether favoring a single or a double standard, that the adoption of free coinage by this country alone and without international agreement, would not give us a double standard, but a single standard of silver.



A DANGEROUS EXPERIMENT.

2. Good Intentions.—This man may have good intentions. His intentions may not be clear to all, but no one need be in doubt as to results. The silver men no doubt mean well, and the bulk of them have the idea that what they are after they will get and the people will be benefited. But the common sense of the American people will declare itself at the polls against any such dangerous experiment.

The Silver Side.

3. Tariff not Responsible.—Many claim that the threat to reduce or abolish the tariff is the chief cause of hard times. These would shut out the money question and make protection the issue. The present industrial demoralization cannot be accounted by tariff, pro or con. Declines in values have been going on since the demonetization of silver. Tariff changes will not stop this.

4. **Demonetization Responsible.**—The demonetization of silver destroyed one-half of the redemption money of the United States. By making gold the unit and closing the mints to silver, it lessened the demand for silver, and its commercial value at once began to depreciate, as measured in gold.

We are a great debtor nation, paying England 200 million dollars annually in gold in the payment of interest on our bonds, national and private, owned by her people, and to meet this annual interest we are giving up about 400 millions in property that is required in the market to secure the 200 millions in gold.

5. **The Silver Dollar.**—Silver is now worth about 60 cents an ounce. The silver bullion in a dollar is worth about 54 cents. Free silver coinage would raise the price of silver to 129 cents an ounce, and the silver in an American dollar would be worth one dollar in gold the world over even without a government stamp on it.

6. **No Market for Money.**—Usually a large part of the money of the country is in a certain sense hoarded in New York and other great cities, because the owners cannot profitably invest it in productive industries. The prices of the products of toil have fallen. The farmers of America cannot get as much for their crops or their stock as they should.

7. **The Remedy.**—The remedy is free silver. With abundance of money prices will rise; capital will seek investment in the soil and in factories; every man who wants to work will be employed, and in the competition between employers for employes wages will rise.

8. **Double Foreign Market.**—The effect of an inflow of silver from abroad would be to double the foreign market for our goods, and give us such a period of prosperity as we have never known before. The whole productive energy of the nation would be employed. Wages would increase. The only refuge for Europe would be bimetallism.

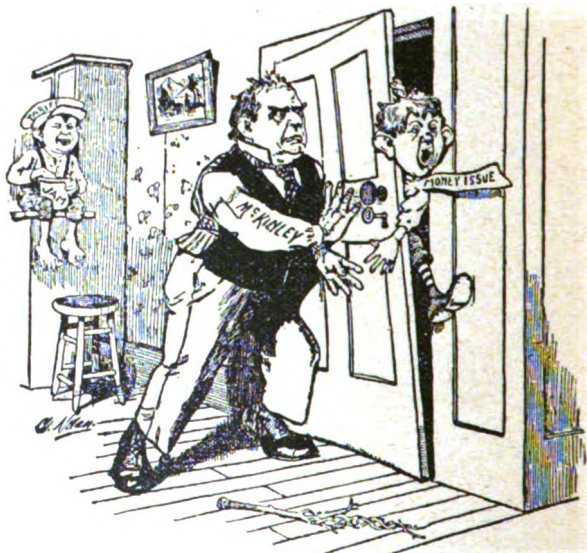
9. **Failure of Gold Standard.**—The gold standard cannot be maintained any longer except at the cost of ultimate national bankruptcy. That must be plain to every thoughtful man who has observed the course of events in this country since Mr Sherman stealthily fastened the gold standard system upon our government in 1873.

Both Sides Discussed.

10. **The Silverman.**—The Silverman opens the discussion by urging that the country needs more money than it has in circulation; that low prices of farm products and

hard times for farmers result from a limited supply of money; that gold is harder to get and debts harder to pay because the use of silver as money is restricted.

11. The Anti-Silverman's Argument.—Here the Anti-Silverman replies that all the American product of silver is utilized as money under the present law; and that free coinage, while not greatly increasing the amount of money in



Boy in the closet: "I'll be blown if I'll stay in here."

TARIFF NOT THE ISSUE.

circulation, would result in one of two things; it would either give the owners of the mines the profit on the making of money based on silver, which now goes into the Treasury, or it would make silver the sole standard of money, cause gold to rise to a premium, and derange the whole currency system.

12. The Silverman's Reply.—The Silverman rejoins that those who were injured by the demonetization of 1873

have a right to demand that the wrong then done be righted, even though the effect were to drive gold to a premium and out of use as money.

At the same time he disputes the theory that free coinage would cause a premium on gold. The law determines what is a dollar, and though as bullion the silver dollar is worth but 53 cents in gold, it still buys as much as a gold dollar will buy, because the law makes it a dollar



AN HONEST MAN'S DILEMMA,
 "How can I use both?"

13. Against Free Silver.—Then the Anti-Silver debater retorts that gold and silver are at par, because the government exchanges one dollar for another; that under free coinage it could not obtain gold enough to do this; that all the foreign trade is conducted on a gold basis, and since gold is alone available for this purpose it will be held at a premium as soon as the Treasury fails to give a gold dollar for a silver one.

14. The Great Question.—After all, the question may be brought within very narrow limits. Would free coinage



HARD TIMES.
Out of Work, Weary, Hungry and Homeless.

make the value of the two dollars different? The silvermen say no; and some, though not all of them, add that if they thought it would result in that way they would still favor the measure. Anti-silvermen say yes; and the most of them would add that if they could persuade themselves that free coinage would not cause a premium on gold they would cease to oppose it.

15. **Must Soon be Settled.**—In the near future this problem of silver coinage must be settled. The country is standing on tiptoe awaiting political action.

Hard Times.

Hard times are a condition which every one can appreciate, even if he is not able to give their causes. The average man scratches around for a living for himself and family, and if the hard times pinch him, he only scratches the harder, while he lets the financial doctors settle the causes and the cure among themselves. But when financial doctors do not agree, then the ordinary man may be quite at a loss in attempting to make a decision. The following opinions of leaders in their sphere, taken from the *New York Voice*, are certainly very interesting, and to say the least widely differing, coming, as they do, from those representing different political parties and different spheres of action. Study these causes carefully, and then decide for yourself why times are hard. These are replies to the question, "What are the Chief Causes of Hard Times?"

Andrew Carnegie.—1. Natural reaction from excessive development of our material resources between 1880 and 1890

2. Almost equally potent—the agitation for lowering the standard of value.

3. Unwise proposals of revolutionary changes in the tariff.

Any one of these suffices; any two of them combined will bring disaster upon the most prosperous country, or most favorable conditions, that ever existed.

Washington Gladden.—1. Extravagance.

2. Extension of credit.

3. Running in debt.

These three are one. When the whole community, rich and poor, persistently runs into debt as deep as it can go, a day of reckoning must come. Tariffs and currency troubles complicate matters, but the bottom difficulty is a reckless habit of consuming the income before it is earned.

Ballington Booth.—One cause, to my mind, which brings hard times to the United States, is the lack of confidence on the part of the general public in:

1. The disposition of public men to deal with financial problems.

2. Their capacity or ability so to do. The withdrawal of large sums of money from the banks in favor of safety deposit vaults, causing in many cases said bank's suspension and general panic, and consequent tying up of money banks. Men in general wait to see what their neighbor does; and as he did nothing, they do the same, and as a consequence the golden stream ceased to flow through the arteries of trade and commerce.

In general, we Salvationists, with many others, believe that times would be much easier if the tremendous sums of money expended regularly in liquor, the theater, race-course, card table, etc., were turned into less selfish and more honorable channels. Not in charity particularly, but in reforming and gospelizing the masses, and in teaching them the methods of saving both soul and body, which, in our humble opinion, is the only kind of charity that is worth consideration.

John Swinton Thinks the Masses are Short on Brains.—It seems to me that three of the chief causes of bad times are:

1. The blighting influence of the new millionairism.
2. The shortage of brain and pluck among the masses.
3. The extension of immorality in all branches of the government, and in political parties.

Judge Albion Tourgee.—

1. Overproduction.
2. Uncertainty in the private mind as to the stability and operation of the tariff.
3. Great financial caution, engendered by the reckless talk of change and agitation by public leaders.

Senator Peffer.—

1. Private monopoly of the great and essential means and agencies of subsistence and comfort; as of land, fuel, food, commerce, transportation, money, etc.
2. Displacement of labor by use of machinery.
3. Unequal competition resulting from combinations of men and means—the strong crowding out the weak.

Susan B. Anthony.—The trouble with women is that, whether we have hard times or good times, they never get their just share of the much or the little of the good, and the work of my life has not been so much the causes of men's failure to successfully manage their business affairs,

as to try to show them their failure in attempting to make a successful government without the help of the women of the nation. There is money enough in this country to-day in the hands of the few, if justly distributed among the hard-working, honest, and sober men and women, to make "Good Times" for every one.

Editor Schilling of "The Milwaukee Advance."—The attempt of the money kings of the East to force total demonetization of silver by curtailing and calling in of loans, and curtailing bank credits. In case of a panic, when "confidence is lost," cash is required and credit is contracted at a fearful rate, probably one-half, and this contraction works on the same plan as bleeding a person that is suffering from the want of blood.

Samuel Dickie.—

1. Credit inflation reaches and passes the point of danger.

2. A defeated party filling the newspapers with prophecies of financial disaster.

3. The possibility of debasing our currency by free silver legislation, creating a tendency to forced liquidation.

William M. Stewart, Editor of "The Silver Knight."—

1. Contraction of the volume of money of ultimate payment, which produce falling prices, stagnation, and maybe hard times.

John P. St. John.—

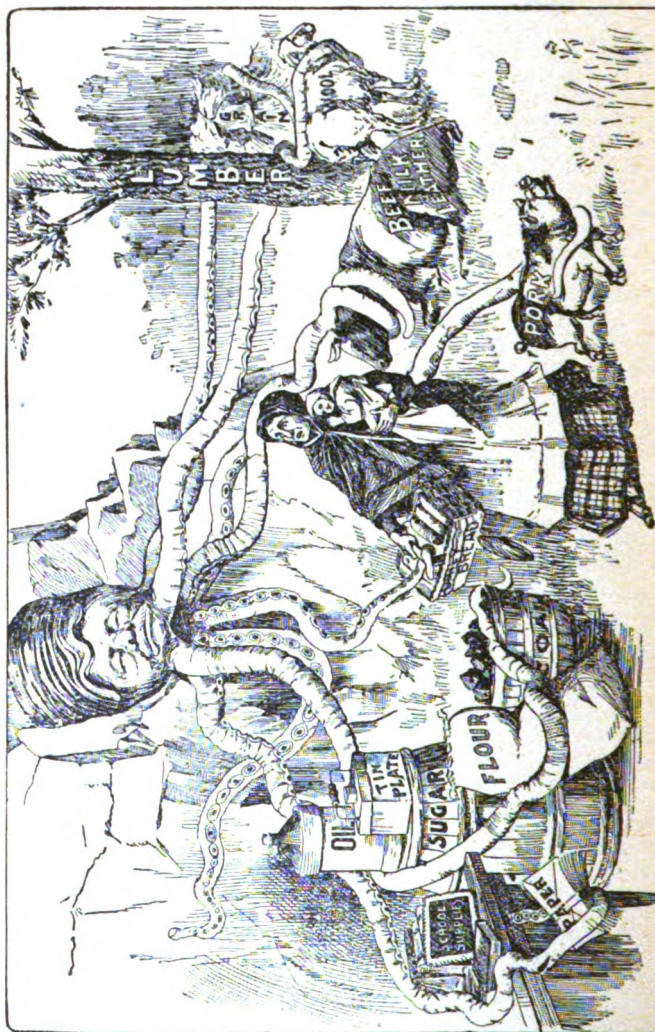
1. The demonetization of silver and the dictation of our financial policy by Wall Street.

2. The perpetuation of the saloons, which are hot-beds of everything that is bad.

3. Legislation which enables a favored few to absorb the wealth of the country as fast as the people produce it.

Perhaps the chief reason for the hard times, from 1893 to 1896, was the reaction from a period of overspeculation in country and town. We had a decade devoted to one vast confidence game. From Duluth to the Pacific coast, fictitious values were put upon everything in the way of real property.

In other parts of the country there was a similar experience. Farmers sold out their eastern homes to settle on the tough, wire-grass sod that had never known the plow. They built barns, and houses, and fences that have gone to ruin, and paid for labor from which there was no return. Such crops as they had were a mockery, and mortgage followed upon mortgage, as the seasons came and went.



Frank Beard.

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THE TRUST OCTOPUS.

Good Times.

We all understand in a general way what is meant by "good times." But good times never come to all people; neither do bad times affect other large classes. Only a small part ride either on the crest of prosperity or in the trough of adversity. Good and bad times are but the ebb and flow of the commercial tide. At times there are the mighty ground-swells of prosperity, and again a corresponding recession to adversity. But the grand old ocean always seeks its level.

Agriculture, manufacturing, commercial activity, and in fact any and all forms of producing and exchanging values, we may place under the general head of *business*. Business in this broader sense rests on four corner stones: 1, The intellectual activity, business capacity, ingenuity, and the life energy of the people; 2, The medium of exchange, or money; 3, Credit; 4, A desire and ability of the people to exchange values.

The first, which varies greatly as between nations, is practically a constant factor so far as it relates to any one people. We may, therefore, for our present purpose, ignore the first. The three great factors, then, that make for "good times" are money, credit, and the ability of the people to exchange values.

Conditions which lead *money* and *credit* to do their perfect work, will, ordinarily, bring good times. If either, or both, be disturbed, the business world is shaken.

Money; Its Value.—Money has two functions, and it must perform both successfully, or disaster will follow. All whose mind runs back to the Civil War days will remember how unstable was the greenback dollar, and how correspondingly unstable were war-time prices.

Money should measure values correctly and uniformly, or injustice and disaster follow. While cheap money is growing more cheap we have "booming" times; but the fatal collapse will positively come when the medium of exchange takes its upward flight. So long as the measure of values continues to rise, so long will business remain depressed. When the measure becomes stable, or fixed, then comes prosperity, provided other conditions are favorable.

Money; Its Quantity.—Money is the life-blood of business. Its quality should be as perfect and as stable as human ingenuity can make it; its quantity should be sufficient to make all exchange of values in business easy, and with an equal and uniform circulation; congestion in the great money centers is dangerous.

Credit.—Confidence is the foundation of credit. Any condition which leads to a want of confidence is fatal to credit. The greater part of all business is built on credit. Were it not for credit, the wheels of commerce would stop. When credit begins to fail, business is checked, sales fall off, factories and machine shops close or run on short time; less demand for products, lower prices; wages fall, and workmen are thrown out of employment.

A, B, C, and D by chance meet. A remembers that he owes B one dollar. He hands him the dollar, which, in turn, B pays to C, whom he owes. C in turn pays A the dollar, which he owes him. Each man has met his obligation. This shows the circle of trade in miniature. A's failure to meet his obligation would have clogged the circuit of payments. Conditions that permit a free and ready circulation of values are favorable to good times.

A Desire and Ability to Exchange Values.—A desire, with the ability, to exchange labor for products, products for labor, labor for products, and products for products, is the motive power that drives the machinery of trade. Lessen the desire and ability to exchange values, and business is depressed.

It is sometimes claimed that economy is the source of prosperity. The claim is, perhaps, correct when used in a restricted sense. But extreme economy leads to stagnation. The United States, with her 75,000,000 people, is a better market than all of China with her 400,000,000, or India with her 300,000,000. These half-starved people are compelled to practice extreme economy. They cannot purchase, so the merchants and manufacturers cannot sell, and trade is limited. Conditions which depress the laborer to starvation wages, react on the employers of labor. Conditions which lead the people to waste their earnings on valueless things, deprive themselves of the ability to purchase things that are of value. India exports wheat, when in fact she raises but a small fraction of what her people need, were they properly fed. They must live on a cheaper food, and sell their wheat to better fed Europeans.

The other extreme is to live beyond one's means, to run in debt, to waste. But "a nimble shilling is better than a slow pound." A citizen who spends in legitimate business ten dollars, is of more value, financially, to a community than one who spends but one dollar.

An Analysis of Causes.—Returning to the reasons given for hard times, as noted in the preceding pages, let us analyze them. "Agitation for changing the standard of value," "Changes in the tariff," "Lack of confidence,"

"Disposition and ability of public men to deal with financial problems," "Uncertainty as to the stability and operation of the tariff," "Reckless talk of change and agitation by public leaders," "Filling the newspapers with prophecies of financial distress," "Loss of confidence among the American people in the soundness of their currency."

It will be noted that all the reasons above given point directly to fear, to a want of confidence, in the minds of the people. These are the forebodings of a coming panic.

Here are other reasons given for hard times: "Extravagance," "Extension of credit," "Running in debt," "Credit inflation passes the point of danger," "Natural reaction from excessive development of natural resources." These would naturally lead to the impairment of credit.

Again we quote: "Demonetization of silver by curtailing and calling in loans and curtailing bank credits," "The possibility of debasing our currency," "Contraction of volume of money of ultimate payment," "Loss of confidence in the soundness of the currency," "Demonetization of silver and the dictating of our financial policy by Wall Street."

It will be noted that these refer hard times to the question of money.

Judge Tourgee suggests "overproduction" as one of the causes of hard times. Ballington Booth and John P. St. John name "the perpetuation of the saloon" as one of the causes of hard times. Is it overproduction, as suggested by Judge Tourgee, or underconsumption, as implied by Booth and St. John? Overproduction is possible only when the ability to purchase falls below the value of things produced.

If all feet were properly protected with shoes, if all bodies were warmly covered with proper clothing, if all hunger were properly appeased, if all people were warmly housed, would overproduction be possible? If the dreadful waste through the saloon could be stopped, and the wasted money and time be turned into productive channels, could there be an oversupply?

CHAPTER X.

INTERNATIONAL AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The "Monroe Doctrine."

1. **Explanation.**—The Monroe doctrine relates to the interference of foreign, or European countries, with the affairs of the American continent. It was announced by President Monroe, in his annual message to Congress of December 2, 1823. It is expressed in two paragraphs of that message, which were distinct from each other, and were separated by other matter. The two paragraphs referred to different events.

2. **The Occasion for the Expression of the First Paragraph.**—One of these paragraphs asserted that the American continents, "by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." The occasion for the expression of this view was that Russia had made a claim to a large part of the coast line upon the western shore of the North American continent. This passage was written by John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, and was inserted by Mr. Monroe in the message.

3. **The Occasion of the Other Paragraph.**—The occasion of the other paragraph of the message was as follows: The Holy Alliance—the name given to the alliance formed by the emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia—was a very powerful combination, professing in the interest of the Christian religion, but really in the interest of absolute power.

4. **Danger to Our Peace and Safety.**—In the midst of a passage of some length, Mr. Monroe said that we owed it to the friendly relations existing between the United States and the European powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, and that we could not view any attempt, by any European power, to oppress the Spanish-American countries, which had become independent, "in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

5. **The Policy of Congress.**—The Monroe doctrine, thus announced, became the settled policy of Congress and of the successive administrations, and has been repeatedly approved by national conventions of the great parties. It has been extended, with more or less logical consistency, in more than one direction.

6. **Wrong Views.**—Some people understand that the United States has taken a position which implies a general oversight of the affairs of all American republics. Moreover, according to one view, the Monroe doctrine gives us rights and obligations not only toward the adjacent islands of the West Indies, but toward Hawaii; but these are errors.

7. **Enforcing It.**—The doctrine in its original form no longer requires a threat on our part to enforce it, for the United States has become so great that no foreign power would think of violating either of its principles we have quoted.

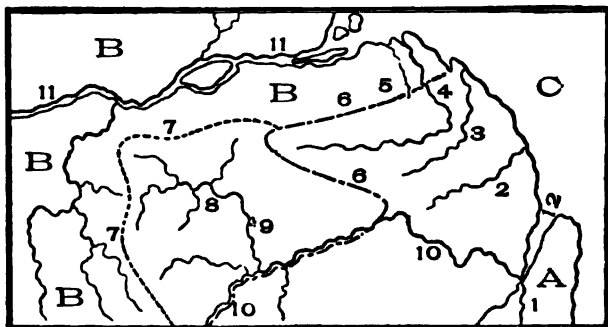
International Arbitration.

1. **Discussed.**—International arbitration has been discussed for many years. Nothing practical has, however, resulted from these discussions. The Venezuela dispute, the message of the President of the United States, and the action of Congress has brought this question prominently before the American people as never before.

2. **Our National Record.**—Our nation has always advocated the rights of neutrals, arbitration, and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. It has contributed more than any other nation to the promotion of peace and the avoidance of great armaments. The United States and Canada have set an example to the world by dispensing with a standing army and sustaining nothing but a small marine police force on the great lakes. It is our glory to be safe without fortresses, fleets, or armies.

3. **Arbitration Conference.**—While the risk of war with Great Britain was still in the minds of the people, an Arbitration Conference was called at Washington in April, 1896. It was generally conceded that the moment was opportune to set forth in the daily and periodical press that the true American doctrine on international relations is not force of arms but force of righteousness; that the mission of this nation is to teach the blessings of liberty and self government by taking millions from various lands into our own land and here give them experience of the advantages of freedom.

The Venezuela Dispute.



- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Essequibo River. | 8. Yuruari River. |
| 2. Pumarón River. | 9. Gold Mines. |
| 3. Moroco River. | 10. Cuyuni River. |
| 4. Barima River. | 11. Orinoco River. |
| 5. Amakura River. | 12. Mouth of Essequibo. |
| 6. Schomburgk Line. | A. British Guiana. |
| 7. Boundary claimed by Great Britain. | B. Venezuela. |
| | C. Atlantic Ocean. |

1. **Governments of South America.**—America is the home of republics. The last monarchy ceased to exist when Brazil became a republic in 1889. There are nine republics in North America and ten in South America. Some of these are weak and are frequently disturbed by revolutions. Besides these ten republics in South America there are three European colonies lying between the Amazon and the Orinoco rivers known as the Guianas, French Guiana on the east, Dutch in the center, and British on the west.

2. **The Disputed Line.**—In 1810 a considerable portion of the territory between the Orinoco and the Amazon rivers became a part of Venezuela as successor of Spain. Four years later Holland ceded another part of this territory to Great Britain. The boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela was never established by treaty. The dispute is as to this boundary line. Venezuela claimed that the ancient boundary line between Holland and Spain, which she holds was the Essequibo river (1), and south to Brazil, should be the boundary between her and British Guiana. Her consistency lies in this that she has never varied from holding to this one line as the boundary; while on the other hand the British first claimed the Pumarón (2) as the ancient boundary, but afterward extended her claim

first to Moroco (3), then to Barima (4), then to Amakura (5), then to the Orinoco delta, until now she claims as the boundary a line drawn along the summit of the hills separating the watersheds of the Orinoco and the Essequibo, thus carrying the British limits up to the sources of the Cuyuni (10) and Yurari (8) rivers.

3. **The Territory in Dispute.**—This includes the Yuruari valley in which gold mines (9) of great richness have recently been discovered. The possession of these gold mines would greatly aid the British in controlling the commerce of the Orinoco, and correspondingly affect the commercial and political relations of Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil.

4. **Occupancy.**—Great Britain made no attempt to occupy any portion of her claimed territory west of the Pumaron (2) until 1840, when she sent a commissioner, who, without the consent of Venezuela ran a boundary line, taking from Venezuela an area equal to the state of New York.

5. **The Schomburgk Line.**—This line is known as the Schomburgk Line (6). The British now refer to this line as marking the limits between what is without question British territory and what may be considered territory in dispute. In later years Lord Aberdeen disclaimed the Schomburgk Line and ordered the colonial authorities to obliterate the line and to destroy the posts and marks that defined it. Since the running of this line in 1840 several British administrations have admitted that it has no validity whatever.

6. **Agreement Entered Upon.**—In 1850 each of the parties obligated itself to the other not to occupy any of the then unoccupied territory in dispute until some definite settlement of the question of boundary could be reached. As usual in such cases each party soon accused the other of bad faith. Venezuela insisted that the compact was violated by British encroachments and England insisted that Venezuela had violated it by making certain mining concessions to a syndicate of capitalists.

7. **Arbitration Urged and Refused.**—Venezuela all these years insisted upon a reference of the whole question of boundary to friendly arbitration. Great Britain as persistently refused to submit her claim to arbitration. In the meantime the British encroached more and more not only upon the disputed territory but constantly pushed westward the line of demarkation as England would have it.

8. **Conditional Arbitrations Proposed and Refused.**—At several different times England did propose a plan of settlement of the line, but always accompanied it with conditions which Venezuela could not possibly accept. One

condition was that Venezuela was to pledge never to alienate any part of her territory to a third power, another was that the Orinoco river (11) was to be open and free to the navigation of British vessels. Venezuela in rejecting these unjust proposals always suggested arbitration but Great Britain would never assent to this.

9. **Further Encroachments.**—Subsequently the British authorities took forcible possession of the whole of the territory within the Schomburgk Line (6), which had been so explicitly disclaimed and ordered to be removed by Lord Aberdeen. They even went beyond this and included about seventy square miles of additional territory, so as to have a claim upon the recently discovered gold mines (9), the richest on the continent.

10. **Venezuela's Demand and the British Refusal.**—This aroused Venezuela and greatly alarmed her. She at once demanded that the agreement of 1850 be complied with until the question was settled by impartial arbitration. The demand was not complied with and the proposal for arbitration was treated with haughty indifference. Venezuela, being too weak to compel England, at once broke off diplomatic relations with her. Since then, realizing her inability by force of arms to hold her still undisputed territory, much less to regain that already occupied by the British, Venezuela has persistently endeavored in every possible way to have the whole dispute referred to friendly and impartial arbitration.

11. **New Conditions by the British.**—Great Britain, on the other hand, insists that arbitration shall apply only to territory outside of the Schomburgk line. In other words, she will not consent to arbitration concerning lands west of this line if Venezuela does not relinquish all claim to territory east of this line.

12. **A Clear Case.**—From present knowledge the evidence points overwhelmingly toward aggressions on the part of England upon territory which in the past she herself distinctly recognized as Venezuelan. It would seem that a clearer case of absolutely unwarranted and inexcusable appropriation of the territory of a weaker power than these encroachments of the British upon the mainland of South America can probably not be found anywhere.

13. **The Monroe Doctrine.**—But what has the United States to do with this matter? Early in the present century South America was threatened with invasion by certain European powers. James Monroe, President of the United States, at the suggestion of the British, incorporated in his message to Congress a passage which proclaims against

any interference of European powers with the independent governments of America. This doctrine has been held by our government ever since.

14. England's Aspirations.—Since this doctrine affects the English they discard the Monroe doctrine. England very well knows the richness of the gold field of South America, yielding millions annually. A party of English engineers, has recently, without consent of Brazil, engaged upon a reconnoissance for a railroad line south from British Guiana to the heart of the rubber territory of Brazil. The commerce of this entire region is already more than forty millions annually. English capital is controlling much of it. Where once England has placed her foot she regards the soil ever after as pertaining to her crown. The conclusion seems strong that if the acquisition of territory by extensions of boundaries should not be checked we would ultimately see her in possession of the heart of the Amazon and Orinoco basins.

15. Our Duty.—While the United States is not directly interested in this dispute, she has viewed its progress with anxiety, and has frequently tried to effect a settlement by arbitration. In 1823 England induced Monroe to protest against European aggressions in America. The seventy-three years that have elapsed have changed the situation only in this, the encroachments are by England and not by Spain. While all just and honorable means should be used to settle the question, yet there is too much at stake to permit the forcible extension of European colonies on the continent. To many it seems time to call a halt to the process of dismemberment of an American republic. Our commerce, our interests in other American nations, our very existence is threatened if European countries are to be permitted to annex at will the territory of American nations. The tenability of the Monroe doctrine must sooner or later be settled. Our honor, our plighted faith, our safety demands that we uphold the doctrine. England respects nothing but force. The lesson of Yorktown, however, has taught her that we are not to be trifled with. She is too prudent to engage in war with the United States, unless there is more at stake than a strip of South American territory.

16. Official Correspondence.—Under date of July 20, 1895, Secretary Olney addressed a communication to Mr. Bayard, the American ambassador in England, which was transmitted to Lord Salisbury August 7, fully setting forth the attitude of the United States. Arbitration was suggested as the only reasonable method of settling the dispute, and a definite answer was asked for whether the

British would or would not submit to impartial arbitration of the whole case.

November 26, 1895, Lord Salisbury replied, refusing to consent to arbitration, except as already proposed by Great Britain.

17. President Cleveland's Message.—Thereupon President Cleveland submitted the correspondence and a message to congress, vigorously defending Mr. Olney's position, and asked for authority to appoint a commission to determine the merits of the boundary dispute so that our government may be able to decide as to its course of conduct in the case. He also urged that the United States "resent by every means in its power" to prevent Great Britain from appropriating lands belonging to an American republic.

18. Congress Acts.—The message met with enthusiastic approval, and Congress at once authorized the President to appoint such commission, and appropriated \$100,000 for the expenses.

19. Objections.—It soon became evident that many statesmen, financiers, educators and clergymen did not assent to President Cleveland's, course fearing that the spirit of "jingoism" might be fostered thereby.

20. Desire for Peaceful Settlement.—While there was a general feeling of resistance to any warlike spirit, or anything that savored of "jingoism," yet the gravity of the interests involved and the far-reaching results could hardly have been over-estimated had England persisted in her course of action.

The Boundary Commission was necessarily obliged to make exhaustive and laborious research, from the "blue books" of England, the historical records of Holland and even the archives of Rome were brought to light, in the history of the early mission settlements, in order to trace

*Jingoism is of British origin and comes from a London music hall song which had the refrain:

"We don't want to fight,
But, by jingo, if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men,
We've got the money, too."

Jingoism indicates a desire to maintain the honor and glory of one's country at any cost, by fair or by foul means. It is to the nation what selfishness is to the individual, that sentiment which makes one desire to get wealth or honor without regard to others, even by trampling upon their rights. Jingoism in politics thinks more about the glory than the duties of the nation. It never stops to ask the justice of a cause but the interest of one's country. It talks more and makes more noise but does not love the country more than patriotism. The spirit of jingoism is unpopular in our country. Only when a would-be statesman hates England more than he loves America are utterances given to it. We are more in danger of being slow to do our full duty to our citizens and to show sympathy to those who suffer from oppression than of being quick to provoke war for no higher purpose than national glory.

the matter fully, and learn the rights of the disputing parties.

Before they had reached a point where a decision could have been made Lord Salisbury had announced that the matter was about to be brought to a happy conclusion. The voice of America, through her highest executive's timely wisdom and fearless courage, had brought England to see the matter in a quite different light.

21. **The Treaty Signed**—A treaty directing the appointment of a tribunal composed of two members of the Supreme Court of the United States and two from the British Supreme Court with a fifth juror selected by them was then concluded. Should they fail to agree upon this fifth member within three months of their nomination the King of Sweden and Norway should select him.

The formalities required in such a matter being duly arranged, the tribunal selected, and the fact also that Venezuela had sent a minister to Great Britain, once more resuming the disturbed diplomatic relations, all combined to end the active interest of the United States in the matter.

The results of the Venezuela dispute as reached by the tribunal of award, and approved by England and Venezuela, were not fully satisfactory to either party. Neither got what was demanded. Venezuela has reason to be satisfied in one important particular. She has full control of the mouth of the Orinoco River. The boundary line, as made by the arbitration tribunal, is indicated on page 588.



Cuba and Its Independence.

1. **Discovery and Ownership.**—Cuba, the finest and largest of the West Indies, was discovered by Columbus October 28, 1492. Since then it has been held by Spain. All early writers describe the natives as amiable, innocent, hospitable, and graceful. Velasquez, the first ruler, already began trampling upon the natural rights of the natives and butchering those who resented his brutal dominion.

2. **Extent.**—Cuba is a long, narrow island, about seven hundred miles in extent from east to west, and has a breadth from north to south of twenty-one to one hundred and twenty miles. It has excellent harbors, which are well fortified.

3. **Resources.**—Nowhere within the limits of western civilization is there a more favorable spot for the swift, almost boundless development of vast popular wealth. Rich beyond description, Cuba, with only a tenth of its area occupied, and its resources as yet only touched, would, under a liberal government, be the pride of the Western Continent.

4. **Population.**—The population is about 1,600,000.

5. **Spanish Misrule and Cruelty.**—It is said the Indian chief Hatuei, who was subjected to the tortures and cruelties of the Spaniards, said, "If there are Spaniards in heaven, I prefer to go to hell." Slaughter and deportation for the slave markets of Spain soon reduced the Indian population. African slaves were imported until forty years ago. Oppression born of greed, and practiced upon the Indians and Africans, became so ingrained in the class that governed Cuba that, after the last Indian sleeps in his grave and Spain has been forced to abolish her African slavery, she must needs hold over her own flesh and blood in Cuba, the same rod of oppression. So exasperating was that rod, so cruel its strokes, that Cuba was repeatedly thrown into bloody insurrections.

6. **Government.**—Spanish rulers said, "Cubans cannot govern themselves." Spain did nothing for Cuba; out of the vast amount of taxation, she spent practically nothing on Cuba for education or internal improvement. The fact is, there was only one party in Spain as regards Cuba—the party that wanted to suck the orange and get all the juice out of it.

7. **Official Greed.**—The Spaniards who came to Cuba to engage in business only, remained there long enough to

accumulate a fortune, when they returned to Spain. Spanish officials sent from the mother country only remained long enough to fill their pockets with ill-gotten gains, when they also returned to give place to a fresh horde of hungry cormorants, who went there to plunder the people, which they were permitted to do without restraint. There is no record of any Spanish official being punished for misconduct toward the Cubans.

8. **Attempted Revolutions.**—Prior to the last insurrection four others had occurred in the last century; these were in 1829, in 1848-51, in 1855, and the bitter ten-year war 1868-78. Early in the nineteenth century Spanish tyranny and exactions led to revolts of Chili, Peru, Mexico, and other continental provinces. Cuba alone remained loyal; but Spain by her course of disinheriting Cuba and withholding her birthright, by the determined action of the Cortez to wring revenue out of Cuba and to guard against her achieving independence, has turned Cuban *loyalty* for Spain into *hatred*. The Cuban of to-day would rather die the death of battle than live under Spanish rule. Banished from the continent for her intolerant oppression, Spain, goaded by her tyrannical greed, was loath to relinquish her last hold on the Western hemisphere. By just measures Spain might have placed Cuba in opulence and prosperity, at the same time causing the ever-increasing resources of the island to contribute largely to the revenues of the mother country. But the vanity of Spain by which her national pride has been reduced to pitiable insignificance made this impossible.

9. **Outrages on American Citizens.**—The case of Dr. Ricardo Ruiz, an American citizen, aroused great indignation. He was arrested merely on suspicion of sympathy with the insurgents and confined in prison two years, when he died. The death was reported to be by foul means, which the Spanish officials tried to prove was false. Also much interest was felt throughout the United States in Julio Sanguilly's imprisonment, which was discussed with much warmth in the Senate. After leaving him for two years in a dungeon in the hands of cruel Spain, he was finally released upon the urgent demands of the United States.

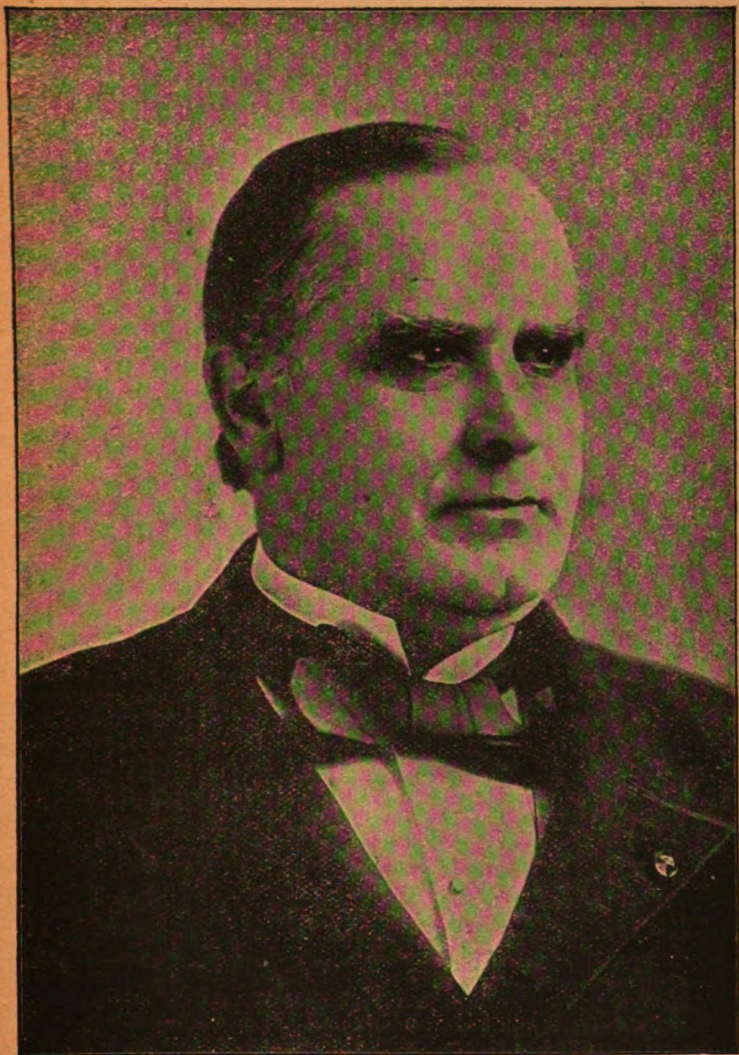
Many other cases might be noticed, and our Consul-General Lee even threatened to resign if our government did not better uphold him in his position as well as the safety of our citizens and national honor, in which action he was generously supported by the entire American population.

10. **General Ruis Rivera.**—This veteran, who succeeded General Antonio Maceo in command of the Cuban forces in the province of Rinar del Rio, was born in Puerto Rico in 1847. General Rivera is the son of a wealthy Spanish family; his father was a Spanish colonel. Young Rivera was sent to Spain to be educated as a lawyer. When the revolution of 1868 broke out, he was studying law in Barcelona. He gave up his college career and sailed for Cuba.

Rivera fought valiantly; he displayed at the head of his troops remarkable ability. When ten years were ended, in 1878, he stood out with Maceo in his refusal to accept the terms of the treaty. He left the island without surrendering, and before going he handed his machete (*mā-tchā'-tā*) to Col. Figuerdo, his faithful friend, with this injunction: "This is my true weapon. If I ever return to Cuba to fight for her freedom, you shall return it to me. If you ever fight with it, and are forced to surrender or leave the fields of Cuba, break it in twain and bury it. Let it never fall into the hands of the enemy."

Rivera saw the war renewed sixteen years afterward; as soon as he was called to his post, he left Honduras, where he was prosperous in business. He took an expedition to Maceo, which materially strengthened the patriots in the west. His long experience and his splendid qualifications made him conspicuous. He was a man of personal magnetism, and a natural successor to his life-long companion, General Antonio Maceo.





WILLIAM McKINLEY,
Born at Niles, Trumbull Co., Ohio, January 29, 1843.
President March 4, 1897-1905.

Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Administrations.

Good Will and Confidence.—Never since the days of Madison and Monroe has a President of the United States entered upon the duties of his office in such an atmosphere of good will and confidence as that which surrounded Mr. McKinley. Everybody wishes him well; even those who were arrayed against him in the recent campaign have come through the battle with no touch of bitterness against the man himself. Supported by the entire press of the United States, his election was called the "triumph of true Americanism," and heralded at home and abroad as a convincing proof that the American people can be trusted to govern themselves.

Extra Session, LV. Congress.—In accordance with a call issued March 6th, by President McKinley, the LV. Congress met in extra session on March 15th, 1897.

Hon. T. B. Reed of Maine was again chosen speaker of the House, Representative Bailey of Texas receiving the complimentary vote of Democratic members, and Representative Bell of Colorado that of the Populists. Mr. Reed appointed only three committees, those on mileage, rules, and ways and means.

The Dingley Bill.—On the opening day of the extraordinary session, March 15th, Mr. Dingley, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, reported to the House the new tariff bill, which had been in course of preparation for some months, and on the nineteenth he submitted the views of the majority of the committee. On March 22d, Mr. Bailey of Texas, Democratic leader in the House, presented the minority report. The bill itself is a voluminous document of 169 printed pages, and is popularly called the Dingley bill.

The debate on the tariff bill began in the House of Representatives on March 22d, and lasted until the 31st, the final vote being taken at 3 p. m.

The bill was at once sent to the Senate, where it was referred to the Committee on Finance, which reported it back April 4th.

The Senate debate began thus and continued to July 7th, when the bill was returned in such a mutilated state that its own father could hardly recognize his child. However, the bill went to conference, whence it was reported to and rushed through the House, July 19th. The Senate then took it up again and debated till the 23d, when at 3 p. m. they voted to accept the conference report. President McKinley signed it the same day.

Spanish-American War.

The Final Revolution, resulting in the freedom of Cuba, commenced in October, 1895. The Cubans were successful in resisting the Spanish army sent against them, but were unable to drive it from the island. The struggle continued for nearly three years, and partook largely of the nature of guerilla warfare.



M. GOMEZ.

The government of the United States was neutral, and for that reason attempted, at great expense, to keep expeditions in aid of the Cubans from leaving American ports. These efforts were in part unsuccessful. The long war so near our coast caused much irritation both in Spain and the United States. The great sufferings among the reconcentrados of Cuba greatly aroused the sympathies of the American people.

Provisions and Medicines were sent the suffering Cubans in large quantities. Miss Clara Barton, the veteran

president of the Red Cross society, was the head of the relief committee stationed in Cuba. This society also did much to relieve the distress of both armies in the war which soon followed.

Reconcentrados.—Governor-General Weyler ordered all Cuban non-combatants, such as women and children, old men, and peasants, into the towns where the Spanish army had control. These people so collected were known as reconcentrados.

Dreadful suffering was the result. Starvation and disease swept away many thousands of these innocent people.

President McKinley protested to the Spanish government against this order of General Weyler.

Finally, in April, 1897, the queen regent of Spain signed a decree granting reforms in Cuba. General Weyler was recalled, and General Blanco was appointed Captain-General of Cuba. Blanco expressed a willingness to have relief sent the suffering reconcentrados, provided none of it should go to the Cubans in arms. As a result, thousands of dollars were sent to Cuba by the people of the United States to relieve the starving people. Miss Clara Barton, in person, went to Cuba to aid in the distribution of supplies of food and medicine.

The Destruction of the Battleship Maine.—Finally, on the evening of February 15, 1898, while lying peacefully at anchor in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, the United States battleship Maine was sunk by an explosion, and two hundred and sixty of her seamen killed.

After a careful investigation, the naval board appointed by the President, found that the explosion was external and caused by a sub-marine mine; and not by an internal force, which was thought might have been the result of an accident in the magazine of the ship.

Our government assumed that this awful crime was not the act of the Spanish authorities. But the conditions, so near our shores, which made such a deed possible, were intolerable.

The President's Message to Congress.—April 11, 1898, President McKinley sent a message to Congress in which he said: "The grounds of intervention may be briefly summarized as follows:

"First, In the cause of humanity, and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or to mitigate. It is no answer to say this is all in another country belonging to another nation, and is, therefore, none of our

business. It is especially our duty, for it is right at our door.

"Second, We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no government there can or will afford, and to that end to terminate the conditions that deprive them of legal protection.



GEN. WEYLER.

"Third, The right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of our people, and by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island.

"Fourth (and which is of utmost importance), The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace, and entails upon this government at an enormous expense. With such a conflict waged for years in an island so near us, and with which our people have such trade and business relations; where the lives and liberties of our citizens are in constant danger and their property destroyed and themselves ruined; where our trading vessels are liable to seizure, and are seized at our very door by warships of a foreign nation, the expeditions of filibustering that we are powerless altogether to prevent, and the irri-

tating questions and entanglements thus arising—all these and others that I need not mention, with the resulting strained relations, are a constant menace to our peace, and compel us to keep on a semi-war footing with a war nation with which we are at peace."

On April 19th the following joint resolutions were passed by Congress:

"Whereas, The abhorrent conditions which have prevailed more than three years in the island of Cuba, so near our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating, as they have, in the destruction of a United States battleship, with two hundred and sixty of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit to the harbor of Havana, and can not longer be endured, as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April 11, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited; therefore, be it resolved,

"First, That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

"Second, That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"Third, That the President of the United States be, and hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several states to such an extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

"Fourth, That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

War was declared April 25, 1898. Congress voted \$400,000,000 with which to carry on the war. The President called for 200,000 volunteers; the National Guard of the different states responded quickly to this call.

Manila, Philippine Islands.—Commodore (now Admiral) Dewey, in command of the American navy at Hongkong, China, was ordered by the President to find and destroy the Spanish fleet. Accordingly Dewey, with six modern fighting vessels, entered Manila Bay on Saturday night,

April 30th. Gliding past forts and over mines, he gained the inner harbor at daybreak, May 1st, when he engaged the Spanish fleet. In a few hours every Spanish vessel was sunk. Not an American was killed, and only eight were injured.

From May 1st to August 13th the city of Manila was besieged on the land side by the natives of the Philippines, who, like the Cubans, had been fighting for their liberty.

Troops, with Gen. Wesley Merritt in command, were hurried across the Pacific to aid the American fleet.

August 13th the city of Manila was captured by the Americans after a sharp engagement.

Around Cuba.—On April 29th a strong Spanish squadron under Admiral Cervera left the Cape Verde Islands, and shortly after made its appearance in the West Indies. For a few days the cities along the Atlantic coast felt great anxiety for their safety, and for some time the exact whereabouts of the squadron was a great mystery. Finally, Cervera ran his ships into the harbor of Santiago for the purpose of obtaining coal. Here he was quickly shut in by the American navy under Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley. In order to keep the Spanish fleet in the harbor, Lieutenant Hobson with six assistants, on the morning of June 3d, ran the coaling ship, *Merrimac*, into the narrowest part of the channel and sunk her there.

In order to accomplish this he must face the direct fire of the Spanish fortifications and fleet. This exploit has few rivals in history. Hobson and his companions won the applause of the world, but the harbor was not closed, as we shall see.

Every effort was now put forth by the American government to capture the city of Santiago, and with it the Spanish fleet.

During the last half of June, the American army under General Shafter landed near Santiago. On July 1st and 2d, heavy fighting gave the American army a position from which it could command the city. The battles by which this position was won are known as La Guasima, El Caney, and San Juan. On the 8d of July, Admiral Cervera attempted to escape from Santiago harbor.

About 9:30 o'clock Sunday morning, the Spanish fleet was seen coming out of the harbor, in its effort to escape. In a few minutes the American fleet was in action. By 1:15 p. m., the whole Spanish fleet was destroyed. In that short time 600 Spaniards perished, and 1,200 were taken prisoners.

The Americans lost not a single vessel, and but one man killed and two wounded.

On the 17th of July, Santiago, with 22,000 soldiers, surrendered to General Shafter.

The Americans were not as fortunate on land as on sea. In the fighting around Santiago we lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners over 1,600 men. In addition to this many of our soldiers died from yellow fever and other diseases.

On the fall of Santiago, an expedition, under General Nelson A. Miles, was sent against Puerto Rico. The Americans were rapidly gaining possession of this island when the war was brought to a close by the signing of the protocol.

A treaty of peace was signed in Paris, December 10, 1898. By this treaty Spain surrendered all claim of sovereignty over, and title to, Cuba.

She ceded the following to the United States: Puerto Rico and other islands of the West Indies belonging to Spain, the island of Guam in the Ladrões, and the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands.

The United States paid \$20,000,000 to Spain.

By this treaty Spain lost her last colonial possessions brought to her through the discoveries of Columbus. In the year 1800 Spain was, so far as territory would make her so, the greatest empire of the world. The close of the nineteenth century finds her with practically no colonial possessions.

In 1800 the Mississippi River was the western boundary of the United States, the Atlantic Ocean the eastern boundary. The close of the century finds her western boundary including Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands. Her eastern boundary includes the island of Puerto Rico. This is from 65° west longitude to 118° east longitude, or a total of 183°, a little more than one-half the circumference of the earth. So we can say with Great Britain, "The sun never sets on our dominions."

Annexation of Hawaii, 1898.

It was, perhaps, the ultimate destiny of Hawaii to come under the government of the United States. But the Spanish-American war greatly accelerated this movement.

Congress passed a joint resolution accepting the cession

of Hawaii to the United States. This resolution was approved by the President July 7, 1898, thus making this date an important one to the people of these islands.

In 1897, a treaty by which Hawaii was to become a part of the Union had been made between the two republics, but had not yet been ratified by the United States Senate. As it takes a two-thirds vote of the Senate to ratify a treaty, there was some doubt as to the success of the treaty; hence the use of the joint-resolution method. In this Congress followed the precedent established in the admission of Texas in 1845.

Tariff and Revenue Laws.

During McKinley's first term Congress again revised the tariff laws.

It will be remembered that the tariff law passed during Harrison's term of office was displaced by the Wilson law, under Cleveland's administration. The Wilson law reduced the tariff, and the revenue under it was not sufficient to meet the demands of the government.

President McKinley promptly convened the new Congress, which soon passed what is known as the "Dingley Bill," a new tariff law.

But the Spanish-American war soon made it necessary to find other methods of raising revenue.

A stamp tax was placed on all legal papers, such as notes, deeds, drafts, mortgages, checks, orders, and the like. The tax on tobacco, alcoholic and malt liquors was also increased to meet this new demand.

Political Contest of 1900.

President McKinley was again the candidate for the Republican party, and William J. Bryan of the Democratic. John G. Woolley, the great temperance advocate, was the candidate for the Prohibition party, and Eugene V. Debs for the Socialistic-Democratic. Mr. Debs was, in 1894, president of the American Railway Union, and the leader

of the great railroad strike of that year. There were other candidates in the field, but all the minor parties cast but few votes as compared with the total vote of all parties.

The principal issue between the two great parties grew out of the results of the Spanish-American war. The Filipinos, though defeated in open battle, still continued the struggle in the form of guerilla warfare. President McKinley favored the holding and governing of the Philippine Islands as a part of the United States. Mr. Bryan taught that the people of these islands should be free to govern themselves under the protection of the United States.

The question of the free coinage of silver again entered into the contest, but only as a minor question.

The evils of intemperance, the fear of great trusts, the size of our standing army, all came into the political discussion.

The tariff slept during this campaign.

William McKinley was again elected President of the United States by a still more decisive majority than in 1896.

The Destruction of Galveston.

In September, 1900, a terrific cyclone, originating in the Caribbean Sea, swept across the Gulf of Mexico. As it struck the coast of Texas, it utterly destroyed the city of Galveston, by flooding with gulf waters the low island on which the city is situated.

This storm of wind and rain passed northward through Texas, then curving eastward, it passed over Oklahoma, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, and the Great Lake region. By the time it had left Texas, it had lost much of its destructive effects.

Many lives were lost in Galveston and in other parts of Texas.

The heart of the nation responded to the cry of the needy.



PRESIDENT KRUGER.

The Boer-British War.

Early History of the Boers.—The Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic are composed of Dutch farmers whose forefathers had settled in Cape Colony, and had afterward gone northward because they would not remain under the rule of the British who had taken possession of Cape Colony.

Freeing the Slaves.—In 1836 many of the Boers left Cape Colony and trekked to the northward to make homes for themselves in the wild country north of the Orange River. In order to do this they had to fight for their very existence, for they were among savages.

This migration was caused by the Boers' hatred of British manners, customs, speech, and laws. The principal grievance of the Boers was that Great Britain had abolished slavery in all her colonies. This she had done at the great expense of \$100,000,000 paid her slave holders for the loss of their slaves.

Cape Colony slave holders were supposed to receive \$6,000,000 of this amount. The Boers were dissatisfied with the amount they received, which, we have good reason to believe, did not reach the pocket-books of those who should have received it.

But the greatest grievance was that the Boers were unwilling to give up their slaves. So, for the privilege of having the liberty to enslave the black African, they went north and established the Orange Free State. This lies between the Orange River at the south and the Vaal River to the north.

But the Englishmen soon began to crowd in upon the Dutch settlers above the Orange River. Again the more obstinate of the Boers trekked to the north of the Vaal River. Here a new Dutch state was formed, known as the Transvaal Republic.

Majuba Hill.—But the ever expanding British empire continued to encroach upon the Dutch farmers of the Transvaal. Finally, at the battle of Majuba Hill, in 1881, the British were badly defeated by the Boers. As a result, the British government acknowledged the Transvaal as an independent republic.

Diamond Fields and Gold Mines.—Perhaps no disturbances would have been likely to arise, but for the discovery of rich diamond fields and gold mines in the Transvaal region. These brought in a large new population of outsiders, or "Uitlanders," as the Boers call them. These

came from many countries, but most of them are of English speech. They now outnumber the Boers. They paid taxes, but were not represented in the government. This fact finally resulted in the Boer-British war of 1899-1900.

Dr. Jameson Raid.—In January, 1896, Dr. Jameson, at the head of 800 men, made a raid upon the Boers, evidently with the intention of overthrowing their government. He was completely routed and taken prisoner. President Kruger delivered him over to the British government. The evidence against Dr. Jameson was overwhelming. The British court found him guilty of violating the neutrality laws, and sentenced him to imprisonment.

Causes of the Recent Troubles.—To an unprejudiced outsider it looks as if both the Boers and the British were somewhat at fault. The Boers were extremely conservative; they were not willing to yield to outside influences. They are a tough, knotty sort of people, and it was very difficult for them to give way to modern ideas. They had won their political and geographical position by hard knocks. They appealed to the world in the name of justice, but they were not ready to be just in their own internal affairs.

On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon is ever pushing his way into all parts of the world, especially where diamond fields and gold mines are to be found. They are not overly thoughtful about the rights and welfare of others.

The Englishman sees a great future in Africa. North America and Asia have been crossed by the railroad; why not connect Cape Colony with Egypt by bands of steel? It will be done in due time.

The Fighting and Sieges.—We cannot here enter into a full history of the Boer-British war. It is sufficient to state that the Boers showed themselves to be magnificent fighters. The two little aristocratic republics of Africa held out for two years against one of the great empires of the world.

The Boers commenced the fight by attacking the British at Glencoe, in Natal. This was on British soil. The English soldiers were quickly shut in Ladysmith and besieged by the Boers. For one hundred fifty days the British held out against the Boers. In turn General Buller, the British commander, with all his efforts could not relieve Ladysmith.

Kimberly and Mafeking were also besieged, and as persistently held out against the Boers.

It was not until Lord Roberts and General Kitchener, with large reinforcements, were sent to South Africa that the tide was turned.

General Cronje was a very bold and skillful general; but in one of his bold movements he was caught in a trap set by Lord Roberts. The British general had moved too quickly for Cronje, and he was obliged to surrender with his whole command.

President Steyn, of the Orange Free States, held out for many months, after the fight had descended to the form of guerilla warfare.

President Kruger, of the Transvaal Republic, went to Europe with the hope of persuading some of the great nations to intercede in behalf of the Boer republics, but without success.





THE MISSION OF PEACE.
Plowing the Field of Appomattox.

Safety of Our Government.

1. **Personal Integrity.**—The life of our nation does not depend upon its statute books, but upon the public sentiment behind the statutes. Whether we shall have a gold or a silver standard is not of such vital importance as that we have sound moral sense in public men and in leaders of opinion. **SAFE CITIZENSHIP** requires *personal integrity*, conscience in politics, Sunday's principles applied in Monday's transactions.

2. **The Voter a Ruler.**—In a republic every voter is a ruler; and the only solid basis of good government is the *individual conscience* which seeks to know what is right and dares to do it. The ballot is infinitely more than a privilege; it is a solemn trust, and he who fails to use it, or who uses it carelessly or corruptly, is guilty of treason to his country.

3. **Cool Heads.**—It is an easy matter to discover that the ship has sprung a leak—any landsman can do that; but neither hysterics nor profanity can stop it. In such an emergency one clear cool-headed ship's carpenter is better than many professors of theoretical navigation or thousands of excited first-cabin passengers.

4. **Argument versus Abuse.**—It will do the silver men no good to tell the gold men that they are nothing but "Wall street bloats." It will make no votes for the gold standard to assert that the silverites are a gang of ignorant know-nothings. It will not help either of the old political parties to assert that the Prohibitionists are not capable of thinking of anything else but the destruction of the saloon. It will not gain the Prohibitionists a single vote to declare that there is an unholy league between the church and the saloon business. It will not decrease the Populist's vote to declare that some of them in their national convention took off their shoes, and that the majority of them wore long flowing whiskers. Arguments make votes most rapidly when it is shown by words and actions that you are a gentleman entitled to respect when you open your mouth to speak.

5. **God Reigns.**—The ants were wrong in supposing that the end of the world had come because a plowshare went through their hill. Our plans may fail without a serious disturbance to the universal order. The Lord has not abdicated; he is as capable as ever of managing things. It is just conceivable that neither my way nor your way is the best way. The times may be a trifle out of joint, the hoodwink of justice may be temporarily awry, bimetallists may sing and rejoice in the light of their silver moon, sound money men may imagine the golden gate just ahead, the tides may ebb and Cherith may run dry, but "God reigns and the government is safe."

Gold and Silver Glossary.

Bimetallism.—Unlimited coinage of both gold and silver.
National.—Without reference to other nations. **International.**—In agreement with other nations.

Bullion.—Uncoined gold or silver in bars.

Coinage.—Free,—coinage of all bullions offered, free of charge to owners. **Unlimited.**—coinage of all bullion offered. **Independent.**—unrestricted by other nations.

Contraction.—Reduction of amount of money in circulation.

Expansion.—National increase of amount of money in circulation.

Fiat Money.—The doctrine that the government can make paper, leather, or any other material into money by simply putting its stamp upon it, without reference to its redemption in coin.

Gold Bugs.—Those who support the gold standard, especially eastern money-lenders.

Gold Reserve.—Gold held by the Treasury for redemption of paper money.

Gold Standard.—Gold the measure of all money value.

Gold Standard Countries.—Austria, Brazil, Chili, Canada, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Liberia, Newfoundland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, United States.

Inflation.—Unusually or unnaturally large issue of paper money or depreciated coin.

Parity of Gold and Silver.—Equality of purchasing powers. As the bullion in a silver dollar is worth so much less commercially, than the gold in a gold dollar, silver money and silver certificates would be at a discount, if it were not known that the government is pledged to maintain them at a parity or equality and receive them for all public dues.

Seigniorage.—The difference between the cost of bullion purchased by the government and its face value when coined. For example, the present commercial value of silver is 69 cents per ounce. One hundred ounces costing \$69 would coin \$129.29. The seigniorage or gain of the government would, therefore, be about \$60. Under free coinage this profit would go to the individual owners of the bullion.

Silver Barons.—Men who have large interests in silver mines and would be benefited by free coinage.

Silver Standard.—Silver the measure of all money value.

Silver Standard Countries.—Bolivia, Central America, China, Columbia, Ecuador, India, Japan, Mexico, Peru, Russia, Tripoli.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.				Pluralities.	Total Vote.	Electoral Vote.
	Cleveland, Democrat.	Harrison, Republican.	Fisk, Prohibition.	Streeter, Labor.			
Alabama	117,820	56,197	583	.....	61,123 C	174,100	10 C
Arkansas	85,962	58,752	641	10,613	27,210 C	155,968	7 C
California	117,729	124,816	5,761	.....	7,087 H	251,339	8 H
Colorado	37,567	50,774	2,191	1,286	13,207 H	91,798	3 H
Connecticut	74,920	74,584	4,234	240	386 C	153,978	6 C
Delaware	16,414	12,973	400	.....	3,441 C	29,787	3 C
Florida	39,561	26,657	423	.....	12,904 C	66,641	4 C
Georgia	100,499	40,496	1,808	186	60,003 C	142,989	12 C
Illinois	348,278	370,437	21,695	7,000	22,195 H	747,686	22 H
Indiana	261,013	263,361	9,881	2,694	2,348 H	536,949	15 H
Iowa	179,877	211,598	3,550	9,105	81,711 H	404,130	13 H
Kansas	102,745	182,904	6,779	37,788	80,159 H	334,035	9 H
Kentucky	183,800	155,134	5,225	622	28,666 C	344,781	13 C
Louisiana	85,032	30,484	160	89	54,548 C	115,744	8 C
Maine	50,481	73,734	2,691	1,344	23,253 H	128,250	6 H
Maryland	106,168	99,986	4,767	.....	6,182 C	210,912	8 C
Massachusetts	151,855	183,892	8,701	.....	32,037 H	344,448	14 H
Michigan	213,469	236,387	20,942	4,555	22,918 H	476,273	13 H
Minnesota	104,385	142,492	15,311	1,084	38,107 H	283,306	7 H
Mississippi	85,471	30,096	218	.....	55,375 C	115,807	9 C
Missouri	261,974	236,257	4,539	18,632	25,717 C	523,198	16 C
Nebraska	80,552	108,425	9,429	4,226	27,873 H	202,653	5 H
Nevada	5,326	7,229	41	.....	1,903 H	12,596	3 H
New Hampshire	43,382	45,724	1,566	13	2,342 H	90,730	4 H
New Jersey	151,493	144,344	7,904	.....	7,149 C	303,741	9 C
New York	635,757	648,759	30,231	626	13,062 H	1,320,109	36 H
North Carolina	147,902	134,784	2,789	47	13,118 C	285,512	11 C
Ohio	396,455	416,054	24,356	3,496	19,599 H	841,941	23 H
Oregon	26,522	33,291	1,677	363	6,769 H	61,911	3 H
Pennsylvania	446,633	526,091	20,947	3,873	79,458 H	997,568	30 H
Rhode Island	17,530	21,968	1,250	18	4,438 H	40,766	4 H
South Carolina	65,825	13,736	.....	.....	52,089 C	79,941	9 C
Tennessee	158,779	138,988	5,969	48	19,791 C	303,736	12 C
Texas	234,883	88,422	4,749	29,459	146,461 C	357,513	13 C
Vermont	16,788	45,192	1,460	.....	28,404 H	63,440	4 H
Virginia	151,977	150,438	1,678	.....	1,539 C	304,093	12 C
West Virginia	78,677	78,171	1,084	1,508	506 C	159,440	6 C
Wisconsin	155,232	176,553	14,277	8,552	21,321 H	354,614	11 H
Total	5,538,233	5,440,216	249,907	148,105	576,158 C 478,141 H	11,392,382	233 H 168 C

(Cleveland's plurality, 98,017.)

Majority but Not Elected.—The above table illustrates how a candidate can receive a majority of the popular votes and still not be elected. In 1888 Cleveland received 98,017 majority, but Harrison had 65 majority in the electoral vote. It results from the fact that a small majority in any state decides the electoral vote as really as very large majorities. For example: In the above table, take Alabama, Georgia,

STATES.	Cleveland.	Harrison.	Weaver.	1896.	STATES.	Cleveland.	Harrison.	Weaver.	1896.
Alabama.....	11	.....	.....	11	Nebraska.....	.....	8	.....	8
Arkansas.....	8	.....	.....	8	Nevada.....	.....	.....	3	3
California.....	8	1	.....	9	New Hampshire.....	.....	4	.....	4
Colorado.....	.....	.....	4	4	New Jersey.....	10	.....	.....	10
Connecticut.....	6	.....	.....	6	New York.....	36	.....	.....	36
Delaware.....	3	.....	.....	3	North Carolina.....	11	.....	.....	11
Florida.....	4	.....	.....	4	North Dakota.....	1	1	1	3
Georgia.....	13	.....	.....	13	Ohio.....	1	22	.....	23
Idaho.....	.....	.....	3	3	Oregon.....	.....	3	1	4
Illinois.....	24	.....	.....	24	Pennsylvania.....	.....	23	.....	23
Indiana.....	15	.....	.....	15	Rhode Island.....	.....	4	.....	4
Iowa.....	.....	13	.....	13	South Carolina.....	9	.....	.....	9
Kansas.....	.....	.....	10	10	South Dakota.....	.....	4	.....	4
Kentucky.....	13	.....	.....	13	Tennessee.....	12	.....	.....	12
Louisiana.....	8	.....	.....	8	Texas.....	15	.....	.....	15
Maine.....	.....	6	.....	6	Utah.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Maryland.....	8	.....	.....	8	Vermont.....	.....	4	.....	4
Massachusetts.....	.....	15	.....	15	Virginia.....	12	.....	.....	12
Michigan.....	5	9	.....	14	Washington.....	.....	4	.....	4
Minnesota.....	.....	9	.....	9	West Virginia.....	6	.....	.....	6
Mississippi.....	9	.....	.....	9	Wisconsin.....	12	.....	.....	12
Missouri.....	17	.....	.....	17	Wyoming.....	.....	3	.....	3
Montana.....	.....	3	.....	3					
					Total.....	277	145	22	447

and Texas. These gave Cleveland 267,584 majority, but only 35 electoral votes. On the other hand, Indiana, New York, and Ohio gave Harrison only 34,949 majority, but 74 electoral votes. In these six states Cleveland received 232,635 majority, but Harrison received 39 majority on the electoral vote. This is one of the chief arguments used in urging the election of President and Vice-President by popular vote.

Electoral Votes of a State may be Divided.—From the above table it can be seen that the electoral vote of a state may be divided. This occurs only when the vote is very close or when the same elector or electors are on different tickets. In California and Ohio the vote was very close, giving Cleveland one elector in Ohio and Harrison one in California. On account of personal preferences, or for some other reason this one elector ran ahead of the ticket. In Oregon one elector was on two tickets. In North Dakota two Populist and one Republican electors were elected, but one of the Populists voted for Cleveland, thus dividing equally the vote of the state. The vote was divided in Michigan because by act of Legislature each Congressional district voted separately for an elector.

Immigration into the United States, 1820-1895.

Year.	Total Immigrants.	Year.	Total Immigrants.
1820.....	8,866	1860.....	150,237
1821.....	9,127	1861.....	89,724
1822.....	6,911	1862.....	89,207
1823.....	6,354	1863.....	174,524
1824.....	7,912	1864.....	193,195
1825.....	10,199	1865.....	247,453
1826.....	10,837	1866.....	163,564
1827.....	18,875	Fiscal year ending June 30.	
1828.....	27,382	1867.....	298,967
1829.....	22,520	1868.....	292,189
1830.....	23,322	1869.....	352,569
1831.....	22,683	1870.....	397,203
1832.....	60,482	1871.....	321,350
1833.....	58,640	1872.....	404,806
1834.....	65,865	1873.....	459,803
1835.....	45,374	1874.....	313,339
1836.....	76,242	1875.....	227,498
1837.....	79,340	1876.....	169,966
1838.....	38,914	1877.....	141,867
1839.....	68,069	1878.....	138,469
1840.....	84,066	1879.....	177,826
1841.....	80,289	1880.....	457,257
1842.....	104,565	1881.....	669,431
1843.....	52,496	1882.....	788,993
1844.....	78,615	1883.....	603,322
1845.....	114,371	1884.....	518,592
1846.....	154,416	1885.....	395,346
1847.....	234,968	1886.....	334,203
1848.....	226,527	1887.....	490,109
1849.....	297,024	1888.....	546,889
1850.....	369,966	1889.....	444,427
1851.....	379,486	1890.....	455,303
1852.....	371,603	1891.....	560,319
1853.....	368,645	1892.....	623,064
1854.....	427,833	1893.....	502,917
1855.....	200,877	1894.....	314,467
1856.....	195,857	1895.....	279,948
1857.....	246,945	Total	
1858.....	119,501	17,101,425	
1859.....	118,616	From 1789 to 1820, estimated, 250,000	

COMPARATIVE POPULATION OF PRINCIPAL CITIES. 619

FIFTY PRINCIPAL CITIES IN 1900 IN THE ORDER OF THEIR RANK.

CITIES.	POPULATION.		INCREASE FROM 1890 TO 1900	
	1900	1890	Number.	Per Ct.
New York, N. Y.....	3,437,202	2,492,591	944,611	37.8
Chicago, Ill.....	1,698,575	1,099,850	598,725	54.4
Philadelphia, Pa.....	1,293,697	1,046,964	246,733	23.5
St. Louis, Mo.....	575,238	451,770	123,468	27.3
Boston, Mass.....	560,892	448,477	112,415	25.0
Baltimore, Md.....	508,957	434,439	74,518	17.1
Cleveland, Ohio.....	381,768	261,353	120,415	46.0
Buffalo, N. Y.....	352,387	255,664	96,723	37.8
San Francisco, Cal.....	342,782	298,997	43,785	14.6
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	325,902	296,908	28,994	9.7
Pittsburg, Pa.....	321,616	238,617	82,999	34.7
New Orleans, La.....	287,104	242,039	45,065	18.6
Detroit, Mich.....	285,704	205,876	79,828	38.7
Milwaukee, Wis.....	285,315	204,468	80,847	39.5
Washington, D. C.....	278,718	230,392	48,326	20.9
Newark, N. J.....	246,070	181,830	64,240	35.3
Jersey City, N. J.....	206,433	163,003	43,430	26.6
Louisville, Ky.....	204,731	161,129	43,602	27.0
Minneapolis, Minn.....	202,718	164,738	37,980	23.0
Providence, R. I.....	175,597	132,146	43,451	32.8
Indianapolis, Ind.....	169,164	105,436	63,728	60.4
Kansas City, Mo.....	163,752	132,716	31,036	23.3
St. Paul, Minn.....	163,065	133,156	29,909	22.4
Rochester, N. Y.....	162,608	133,896	28,712	21.4
Denver, Colo.....	133,859	106,713	27,146	25.4
Toledo, Ohio.....	131,822	81,434	50,388	61.8
Allegheny, Pa.....	129,896	105,287	24,609	23.3
Columbus, Ohio.....	125,560	88,150	37,410	42.4
Worcester, Mass.....	118,421	84,655	33,766	39.8
Syracuse, N. Y.....	108,374	88,143	20,231	22.9
New Haven, Conn.....	108,027	81,298	26,729	32.8
Paterson, N. J.....	105,171	78,347	26,824	34.2
Fall River, Mass.....	104,863	74,398	30,465	40.9
St. Joseph, Mo.....	102,979	52,324	50,655	96.8
Omaha, Neb.....	102,555	140,452	*37,897	26.9
Los Angeles, Cal.....	102,479	50,395	52,084	103.3
Memphis, Tenn.....	102,320	64,495	37,825	58.6
Scranton, Pa.....	102,026	75,215	26,811	35.6

*Loss.

**FIFTY PRINCIPAL CITIES IN 1900 IN THE ORDER OF
THEIR RANK—Continued.**

CITIES.	POPULATION.		INCREASE FROM 1890 TO 1900	
	1900	1890	Number.	Per Ct.
Lowell, Mass.....	94,969	77,696	17,273	22.2
Albany, N. Y.....	94,151	94,923	*772	0.8
Cambridge, Mass.....	91,886	70,028	21,858	31.2
Portland, Ore.....	90,426	46,385	44,041	94.9
Atlanta, Ga.....	89,872	65,533	24,339	37.1
Grand Rapids, Mich....	87,565	60,278	27,287	45.2
Dayton, Ohio.....	85,333	61,220	24,113	39.3
Richmond, Va.....	85,050	81,388	3,662	4.4
Nashville, Tenn.....	80,865	76,168	4,697	6.1
Seattle, Wash.....	80,671	42,837	37,834	88.3
Hartford, Conn.....	79,850	53,230	26,620	50.0
Reading, Pa.....	78,961	58,661	20,300	34.6

*Loss.

Wars of the United States.

BY WHAT NAME KNOWN.	LENGTH OF WAR.		FORCE ENGAGED.	
	From.	To.	Regulars.	Militia and Volun- teers.
War of the Revolution..	April 19, 1775	April 11, 1783	130,711	164,080
Northwestern Indian....	Sept. 19, 1790	Aug. 8, 1795	.....	.....
War with France.....	July 9, 1798	Sept. 30, 1800	.....	.....
War with Tripoli.....	June 10, 1801	June 4, 1805	.....	.....
Creek Indian.....	July 27, 1813	Aug. 9, 1814	600	12,181
War of 1812, Gt. Britain..	June 18, 1812	Feb. 17, 1815	85,000	471,622
Seminole Indian.....	Nov. 20, 1817	Oct. 21, 1818	1,000	6,911
Black Hawk Indian.....	April 21, 1831	Sept. 31, 1832	1,339	5,126
Cherokee disturbance....	1836	1837	.....	9,494
Creek Indian War.....	May 5, 1836	Sept. 30, 1837	935	12,483
Florida Indian.....	Dec. 23, 1835	Aug. 14, 1843	11,199	29,953
Aroostook disturbance..	1838	1839	.....	1,500
War with Mexico.....	April 24, 1846	July 4, 1848	30,954	73,776
Apache, Navajo and Utah	1849	1855	1,500	1,061
Seminole Indian.....	1856	1858	.....	3,087
Civil War.....	1861	1865	2,772,406	.....
Number of Confederate troops engaged in Civil War.....			.....	600,000

Cost of Wars of the United States.

Revolutionary	\$ 135,193,703.00
War of 1812-15	107,159,008.00
Mexican War	100,000,000.00
Rebellion	6,189,929,908.58
Estimated cost of Indian wars from July 4, 1776, to June 30, 1886	696,229,277.68
Spanish-American, including \$20,000,000.00 for Philippine Islands	222,000,000.00
Losses in wars—	
Revolution (English)	50,000 men
1812-15 killed and wounded	5,614 "
Mexican War	3,420 "
Rebellion, { Union—died	279,376 "
{ Confederate—died	300,000 "
*Spanish-American, killed, wounded and died in camp	3,883 "

*These figures do not include those who died after being mustered out.

In the War of 1812-15 there were 10 battles, 8 combats and assaults, 52 actions and bombardments. In the Mexican War there were 11 pitched battles and 35 actions, combats, sieges and skirmishes. In the Civil War of 1861-5 there were 107 pitched battles, 102 combats, and 362 actions, sieges, and lesser affairs. Since 1812 the United States army has had over 640 battles, fights, and actions against Indians. Since 1789 there have been 912 garrisoned forts, arsenals and military posts in the United States. At the present time (1891) there are 144 garrisoned forts, arsenals and military posts.

Up to and including June, 1861, there were 1,966 graduates of the Military Academy, and of these there were living at the outbreak of the Civil War of 1861-5 1,249. Of the 1,249, 428 were in civil life, and 821 were in the military service of the United States. Of those in civil life, 292 took sides with the Union and 99 joined the Confederacy, while 37 are unknown. Of the 821 in the army, 627 sided with the Union, 184 joined the Confederacy, and 10 took neither side. Of the 99 who joined the Confederacy from civil life all, except one, were either born and brought up or were residents of southern territory. On the other hand, of the 350 graduates born or appointed from southern states, 162 remained loyal to the United States. Of the graduates who served in the Civil War, one-fifth were killed in battle, while one-half were wounded.—*Lieutenant W. R. Hamilton, U. S. A. (From World Almanac.)*

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